Transcribed Hooghly Gazetteer
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A SKETCH

OF THE

ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOOGHLY DISTRICT

From 1795 to 1845.

WITH

SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE SEVERAL

ENGLISH, PORTUGUESE, DUTCH, FRENCH, AND DANISH SETTLEMENTS.

By
GEORGE TOYNBEE,
Magistrate and Collector of Hooghly.

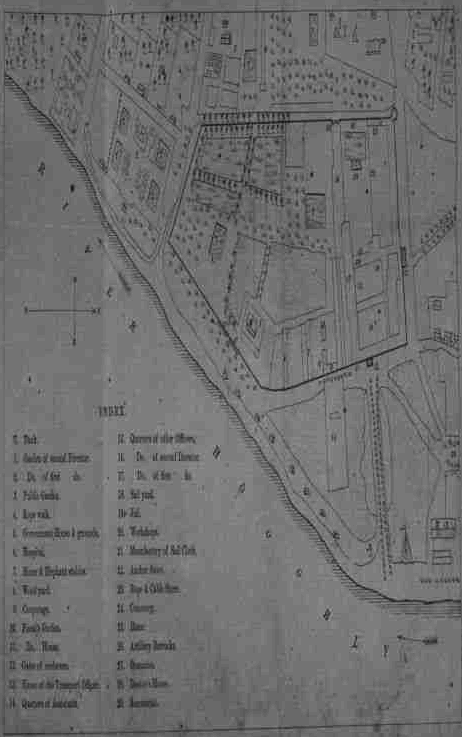
1888.

Calcutta:
PRINTED AT THE BENGAL SECRETARIAT PRESS.
1888.

Price Re. 1-8.

ROUGH SKETCH—PLAN OF CHINSURAH AS IT WAS IN 1721.

From p. 249 of Dr. Bolts' View of the Government General of the Dutch E. I. Co., 1772.



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INTRODUCTION.

THIS volume contains the essence of the information contained in the old records in the office of the Collector of Hooghly from 1795 to 1845, when Howrah was separated from Hooghly and became an independent Magistracy. I have not, however, confined myself strictly to the above period whenever references to earlier or later records tend to make the work more generally interesting and complete.

No less than 258 volumes of old correspondence, containing upwards of 50,000 letters, have been examined. This part of the work was begun in May 1885, and was not completed until August 1888.

As each book was finished, it was marked with a serial number and placed in one of the three following classes, according as—A. The whole (88), B. Part (28), or C. None (142) of the contents were considered to be worth permanent preservation. The figures in brackets show the number of volumes in each category. The books of each class were, after examination, kept separately, and steps were taken to re-bind or repair the volumes placed in class A, to take out from those in class B such letters (marked with gummed slips) as were worth preservation, and to bind them up into new and separate volumes, after proper chronological arrangement, and to apply for sanction to destroy the rest along with those placed in class C.

The record-room may thus be cleared of no less than 170 volumes, which contain only letters of a routine or otherwise useless and uninteresting character, and which serve no useful purpose of permanent record.

The system of reference adopted in this work is to give the serial number of the volume before the date of each letter referred to. Thus (195. V. 6-10-43) means that the letter referred to is to be found in its chronological order in the volume marked 195.

My original notes have been arranged in files by subjects and in order of date, and placed in a tin box in the record-room. They thus form an index to, and abstract of, the contents of the volumes to be preserved,

and also of those recommended for destruction. In many cases the notes are full enough to render further reference to the original letters unnecessary. I have described this procedure somewhat fully in the belief that it will be found useful to future workers in the same field. I have also endeavoured, with due regard to official necessities, to make this work as generally interesting as possible to all classes of the inhabitants of the district. Like my *Sketch of the History of Orissa, 1803-28*, published in 1873, it attempts to give a faithful picture of a district passing from the darkness and chaos of the period of our succession to native rule to the dawn and order of a more enlightened and civilised administration. Starting with the period during which the whole district was under one officer as Judge and Magistrate; when the revenue affairs were managed by the Collector of Burdwan, or by the Residents of the commercial factories of the East India Company (far too much engrossed with their own pecuniary affairs to render any help to the general administration), this record ends with the separation of the district of Howrah, the establishment of subdivisions, the introduction of a rational excise system, and many improvements in the police, magisterial, revenue and general administration. Should any of my successors in the office of Collector of Hooghly in the next century undertake to write the history of the next 50 years—1846 to 1895—he will, no doubt, be able to relate progress still more rapid and real than that chronicled in these pages.

To those Europeans and natives—'*laudatores temporis acti*'—who never cease to regret the good old times of early British rule, and to enlarge on the defects of the existing administration, I commend these pages, in the hope that they will at least modify their views as regards the district of Hooghly. The accounts of the foreign settlements are taken almost *verbatim* from old numbers of the *Calcutta Review*, and in matters of jurisdiction and the early system of administration I have drawn largely on the *Fifth Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company* (1812). This work lays no claim to originality, but merely attempts to put together in readable form a mass of information scattered over many rapidly decaying books and records, not easily available to Government officers and quite beyond the reach of the general public.

30-10-88. G. T.

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ERRATUM.

At the bottom of page 95 erase the words 'Sir' and 'the great oriental scholar' before and after 'William Jones.' On the next page (96) erase the word 'Sir' before 'William Jones,' and add as a foot-note after the words 'alluded to'—

'*Calcutta Review*, No. 7, Vol. IV, 1845, pp. 478, 486.'

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CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY ENGLISH, PORTUGUESE, DUTCH, FRENCH, AND DANISH SETTLEMENTS.

THE ENGLISH IN HOOGHLY.

THE town of Hooghly shares with Balasore the distinction of having been the first English settlement in Lower Bengal. Both these settlements were granted by Shah Shujah at the request of Dr. Boughton, a Surgeon in the East India Company's service, who had cured the Emperor's favourite daughter of a dangerous illness. Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, after making an unsuccessful attempt to establish a colony at Hooghly, went for the same purpose to Ulabaria. Being there also unsuccessful, he took a pottah of the village of Sootanuttee (near the site of the Mint), and in 1696 purchased the villages of Calcutta and Govindpore, built a fort, and there finally established himself.*

In 1669 the East India Company received as a concession the privilege of bringing their ships up to the town of Hooghly for the purposes of loading. Hitherto they had been compelled to transport their merchandise to the seaboard in small sloops, and there re-ship them into large vessels. It was at Hooghly also that the English first came into collision with the Mahomedan Government in Bengal. In 1685 a dispute took place between the English factors at Hooghly and the Nawab of Bengal on the part of the Delhi Emperor, and a military force was despatched by the home and Madras authorities to strengthen and protect the Company's factories at Hooghly. The quarrel seemed to be on the point of adjustment, and it is said that the Nawab was

* Young's *Revenue Hand-book*, page 32.

about to sign a treaty of peace, when an accident frustrated his intentions. A few English soldiers, walking in the bazar of Hooghly, were suddenly attacked by some men belonging to the Nawab's force. The comrades of the former came to their rescue, and a street fight ensued. The town of Hooghly was bombarded by the English Commander, Colonel Nicholson. His fire burned 500 houses to the ground, including the warehouses of the Company itself, containing goods to the value of £300,000. The head factor of the East India Company was compelled to fly from Hooghly to Calcutta, or Sootanuttee as it was then called, and take shelter with some native bankers and merchants who had dealings with the Company.*

At this time Satgaon had been abandoned by the Mahomedans, after 1,500 years of commercial splendour, and all the public offices had been removed to Hooghly, which then became the "Royal Port of Bengal" and the residence of a Mahomedan Foujdar. The English, French, and Dutch continued to trade there until they obtained settlements of their own at Calcutta, Chandernagore, and Chinsurah, but its trade and importance then began gradually to decline. After the recapture of Calcutta by Clive and Watson on the 2nd January 1757, they sailed up the river and captured and sacked Hooghly, eight days later, obtaining much booty. This was the death-blow to its prosperity and consequence. On the establishment of Calcutta as the seat of the Government all the public offices of Hooghly were withdrawn, and since that period only one circumstance has occurred to rescue its name from oblivion. It was at Hooghly that the first press ever established in this Presidency was set up, and there in 1778 the first book was printed in Bengal —the Bengali grammar of Halhed—from Bengali types, the punches of which were cut with his own hands by Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Wilkins. But such an event, the harbinger of civilisation and improvement, is of itself enough to immortalise any place, even though all its political and commercial greatness should be entirely forgotten.†

On the grant to the East India Company in 1765 of the Dewani of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, Hooghly took its place in the English revenue history as one of the districts administered from Burdwan. In Dr. Busteed's charming book *Echoes from Old Calcutta* frequent allusions are made to the fondness of Warren Hastings for the river and the various places on its banks. He appears to have visited both Hooghly and Chinsurah, and to have made the river his "Simla." The original title-deeds of the land and house owned by him at Rishra, now part of the premises of Messrs. Birkmyre's jute mills, are in possession of that firm, and show the sale in 1780 of 137 odd bighas of land for Rs. 10,000 to William Broadfield, James Prescott, and Richard Ricardo.

THE PORTUGUESE AT BANDEL.

Hooghly seems to have been one of the first settlements of the Portuguese in Bengal, who came here in the time of Akbar. The Captains who first came to dispose of their cargoes raised mere sheds of bamboo for their temporary residence. The Emperor, hearing of this

* Hunter's *Statistical Account of Hooghly*, page 300.
† *Calcutta Review*, volume IV, 1845.

new people, transmitted orders to the Governor to send a specimen of them up to his Court. In consequence of the distance between Agra and Hooghly, this message did not arrive till the Portuguese were gone for that year, at which the Emperor in a letter expressed such chagrin that the Governor fell ill and died in consequence. The utmost diligence was therefore employed next year to gratify the Emperor, and a Portuguese Captain of the name of Tavarez went up to Agra. He was treated by Akbar with the utmost favour, and permission given to pitch upon any spot near Hooghly that he chose for the erection of a town, with full liberty of building churches and preaching the Gospel. Barnier states "that Jehangir suffered the Portuguese in Hooghly upon account of traffic, and of his having no aversion to Christians, as also because they promised him to keep the Bay of Bengal clear from all pirates." In Hamilton's time it is stated—"The town of Hooghly drives a great trade, because all foreign goods are brought thither for import, and all goods of the product of Bengal are brought hither for exportation, and the Mogul's furzo or custom-house is at this place. It affords rich cargoes for fifty or sixty ships yearly, besides what is carried to neighbouring countries in small vessels, and there are vessels that bring saltpetre from Patna." Purchas, who lived in the reign of James the First, writes:—"The Portuguese have here Porto Grande (Sundip) and Porte Pequeno (Hooghly), but without forts and government; every man living after his own lust, and for the most part they are such as dare not stay in those places of better government for some wickedness by them committed." A Jesuit, who travelled in 1597 between Hooghly and Chittagong, describes the country as "full of tigers and thieves."

Hooghly is famous for the siege the Portuguese sustained for three months and a half in 1632 against an army of Moguls, when the Portuguese displayed the most heroic bravery, worthy of the days of Albuquerque. DeMello, a Portuguese half-caste, betrayed Hooghly Fort by pointing out a track through which the enemy entered. Even then the Portuguese fought from the houses within the fort. A Persian writer, referring to the attack on Hooghly in 1632, writes:—"Parties of Moguls were sent into the district pertaining to the Portuguese with orders to send all the Christian farmers to hell." Ten thousand Portuguese were killed in the siege. When the Mussalmans took Hooghly, they destroyed all the pictures and images which were in the churches, as they had given great offence to Nour Mehal, the wife of Shah Jehan, when she was in Bengal. Kassim Khan, the Governor of Hooghly, calls the Portuguese European idolators, and the Emperor writes to expel the idolators from his dominions. The chief causes that provoked the Moguls were, that the Portuguese tyrannically exacted duties from the boats and vessels that passed Hooghly; they entirely drew away all the commerce from the ancient port of Satgang; they were in the habit of kidnapping or purchasing young children, and of sending them as slaves to other parts of India: the Portuguese pirates ravaged the eastern parts of Bengal. The "*Shah Jehan Namah*" mentions that the Portuguese of Hooghly obtained grants of land on both sides of the river, and also collected the revenues of them; that by kindness and severity they converted a number of the inhabitants of those districts and sent them in their ships to Europe; they did this to keep them

Christians, and also to profit by them as slaves; they did not confine themselves to their own districts, but wherever they could catch the inhabitants on the banks of the river they made them prisoners and carried them away.

Hooghly is described in 1603 as Golin, a Portuguese colony, where Cervalins, a Portuguese, captured a castle belonging to the Moguls, having in it a garrison of 400 men, all of whom were killed except one. Hooghly is represented by a writer in Stewart's descriptive catalogue as "protected on one side by a river, and on the other three by a deep ditch, which was filled by the tide." In the Moguls' time Hooghly was the great emporium, being the bunder or port of the western arm of the Ganges, where the duties on merchandise were collected. Bolts writes:—"To Hooghly formerly all the foreigners in general resorted for the purchase and sale of all commodities in Bengal." Bruton, a traveller in 1632, writes that "Hooghly, an island made by Ganges, has several thousand Portuguese Christians in it." Bernier states there were 8.000 in his time.

Bandel, with its white towers and antique look, strikes the view of every passenger on the stream of the Hooghly. On account of the services which the Portuguese, who came to Bengal in 1538, rendered the King of Gaur in those frequent disputes that occurred between rich zemindars, who quarrelled among themselves and with their rulers, the Portuguese got Bandel, built a fort for their security (1599) of a square form, flanked by four bastions, surrounded by a ditch on three sides, and on the fourth by the Hooghly. Bandel Church has an endowment of 777 acres of rent-free lands, granted by Shah Jehan at the request of Padri DeCruz, one of the Augustinians who was carried to Agra after the siege of Hooghly, and who, when the Mogul offered to grant him any request he would make, solicited his own liberty with permission to reconduct the surviving Christian captives to Bengal. The Augustinians of Bandel are from Goa, and are subject to the Bishop of Meliapur, not to the Vicar Apostolic. The Portuguese in Bengal, like the Jesuits in Pondicherry, have always resisted the Popes having their ecclesiastical patronage. The Court of Portugal, ever since the first establishment of its dominion in India, has invariably claimed the exclusive right of ecclesiastical patronage, and has viewed with great jealousy any interference. The Pope, on the other hand, has from the first asserted his spiritual supremacy, and has appointed Bishops in Partibus with the title of Vicars Apostolic, under the immediate direction of the Propaganda of Rome. The priests of Bandel have never been highly spoken of for their purity of morals. Captain Hamilton writes, about 1690:—"The Bandel at present deals in no sort of commodities, but what are in request at the Court of Venus, and they have a church where the owners of such goods and merchandise are to be met with, and the buyer may be conducted to proper shops, where the commodities may be seen and felt, and a priest to be security for the soundness of the goods." When the priests were so bad, it is not surprising that the following remark should be made respecting the people:—"The lascivious damsels of this once gay city (Hooghly) now slumber under its ruins: when pomp withdrew from hence, debauchery vanished; poverty now stalks over the ground." The profligacy of the Portuguese priests in this country

seems to have equalled whatever is told of the corruption among the ecclesiastics in the middle ages, and their ignorance is equal to their licentiousness. A writer in the *Calcutta Journal* of 1823 remarks:—"The Portuguese ecclesiastics must be cut off from any intercourse whatever with those under their spiritual charge, since very few of them take the least pains to acquire any of the languages, English or native, generally understood or spoken in Calcutta.

Though in 1840 the Government of Goa issued an order confiscating all the property of Goa native Romish priests who should submit to the Vicar Apostolic appointed by the Pope, yet probably the cause of morals and learning would not suffer by the patronage being taken out of the hands of the Crown of Portugal, who have in too many cases in India conferred ecclesiastical offices on men as amorous as Kulins, and almost as ignorant as Sanyiasis. Bandel Church is the oldest Christian building in Bengal. It was erected 1599—a memorable date, as in this year the infamous Don Meneses, Archbishop of Goa, betrayed the Syrians at the Synod of Dampier, crushed their liberties, and destroyed their MSS. The same year the East India Company was formed, and the Dutch traded first to the Moluccas. After the seige of Hooghly, the Church of Bandel was pulled down, and all the records destroyed, but it was rebuilt by Mr. Soto in 1660. Near it stood the Church of Misericordia, founded by the Augustinians, to which an orphan house was attached. Merchants and others going from home committed their daughters to the Fathers of the church there to be educated during their absence. There was also a nunnery. Mention is made in 1723 of a college of Jesuits at Bandel on the way to Keota, near the residence of the present Civil Surgeon of Hooghly. Bandel Church has three handsome altars, one of which is dedicated to St. Augustin, and also a fine organ to the north-east of the Convent. A spendid hall was built 20 years ago at the expense of Mr. Baretto and other Roman Catholics of Calcutta: it was designed to serve as a sanitarium for invalids. The festival of the Novena is celebrated with great pomp at Bandel every November. Visitors flock to it from Calcutta, Chandernagore, and the surrounding neighbourhood. It is a great time for pleasure parties to make a trip on the river to Bandel. Georgi wrote:—"When Bandel was under the Portuguese King, before it was taken by Aurungzeeb, the Christian religion flourished in this city as well as in all the country of Bengal. The hospice of Bandel was formerly celebrated and distinguished, not so much for the size of its buildings, as for the number of religious men and the magnificence of its public schools; but in consequence of the calamities of the times (1760) it is almost destitute of inhabitants, except a few." As to Georgi's remark respecting the Christian religion "flourishing in all Bengal," the Portuguese had never more than 25,000 Christians; and as to their beneficial influence, we fear the remark that was made respecting the Portuguese settled in Mozambique and Angola is too applicable to Bengal. The illiberal spirit of the Government and the nature of their traffic had the effect of degrading the native tribes which were in connection with them, and at the same time of effectually repelling the more spirited and industrious inhabitants of the high lands.

The Portuguese had no settlement in Bengal Proper higher up the river than Bandel. In all parts of India their settlements were on

the coast, as rendering communication easier and enabling them to receive aid the sooner from the mother country.*

The power and influence of the Portuguese at Bandel was almost extinct by the end of the eighteenth century, and they appear to have become gradually absorbed into the general mass of British subjects. In a memorial to Sir John Shore in 1797, the Prior of Bandel lays claim to independent civil and criminal jurisdiction over the ryots of the Bandel lands. He bases his claim on immemorial usage from the year 1633, the date of the grant to the Portuguese by the Emperor Shah Shujah of 777 bighas of land. This grant was confirmed in 1646 by a new firman. The Prior states that the firman granting this land ordained that the inhabitants of Bandel were to remain under the jurisdiction of the Fathers, who were empowered to administer justice in all cases except those of murder. The Bandel lands were, he further asserts, separated from those included in the circar of Satgaon. He further quotes a letter from William Cowper, Esq., dated 17th July 1787, in which the Collector was prohibited from exercising any civil or criminal jurisdiction over the inhabitants of Bandel.

The decision of the Government was that no such claim could now be admitted, but that there was no objection to the Prior's "continuing to arbitrate and settle the disputes of the Christian inhabitants of Bandel as heretofore whenever it may be agreeable to the parties to refer to him for the purpose," but that "the inhabitants of Bandel are subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts equally with other inhabitants of the Company's provinces." (27-9-1797.)

The Revd. J. Long's strictures on the character of the Portuguese priests are borne out by a letter from the Collector in June 1828 (V. 166), in which he reported the then Prior, the Revd. F. A. Guia, for having wantonly assaulted two natives, refused to obey the summons issued against him, and for having behaved altogether in an "extremely indecent, violent, and illegal" manner.

The original grant of 777 bighas of land appears to have included all the foreshore from the present jail to the northern limit of the circuit-house compound. There is a small piece of a very old wall still remaining on the extreme east of the Hooghly-bridge yard, which is said to be the remains of the Portuguese fort. The 777 bighas of land has dwindled down to about 380 bighas, yielding a rental of about Rs. 1,240. The present Prior thinks that much land was lost during the time that succeeded the capture of their fort by the Moguls and the subsequent hostilities between the English and the Nawab of Moorshedabad.

The Bandel char is reported as having been in process of formation in 1837. The many ruined houses and compound walls still to be seen in the immediate neighbourhood of the convent point to a former state of prosperity little commensurate with the existing state of decay and desolation into which the property has fallen. The date on the stone over the convent gateway (1599) refers, no doubt, to the first and original convent which was built in that year, and not to the existing building.

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* The above is taken *verbatim* from an article by the Rev. J. Long in the *Calcutta Review*. What follows is from the Collectorate records.

THE DUTCH AT CHINSURAH.*

THE Dutch settlement of Chinsurah lies within three miles of Chandernagore. There is no intermediate object of interest except the field on which Colonel Forde defeated the troops of the Dutch, and nipped in the bud the projects of ambition in which they had begun to indulge. The circumstances are so well known that a very brief reference to them will serve the object of this sketch. The Nabob, Meer Jaffir, who owed the enjoyment of his master's throne to the English, became anxious to throw off their yoke, and encouraged the Dutch to import troops and to attempt the establishment of a counter-influence in Bengal. A large fleet arrived from Batavia, consisting of seven ships, three of thirty-six guns, three of twenty-six, and one of sixteen, with 1,100 troops, European and Malay. It was given out that the armament was intended for the Dutch settlements on the Coromandel coast, but had been obliged to run up the Hooghly. It was impossible for a man of Clive's penetration to mistake its object. He was not ignorant of the feeling or the intrigues of the Nabob. The Dutch had hitherto confined themselves strictly to mercantile undertakings. Their commercial privileges were not curtailed by the establishment of British authority in Bengal; on the contrary, the transfer of political influence to a European nation of approved good faith, with whom the Dutch were on terms of amity, was likely to prove beneficial to their trade. It was clear to the mind of Clive that their object was to take advantage of the breaking up of the Mahomedan power and endeavour to supplant the English in Bengal. Although he had no such absolute proof of these designs as to justify him in the bold measure he determined to pursue, yet we, at this time of day, have the clearest evidence of the fact, in the journal of one of their own officers, Stavorinus, who writes:—"The Dutch began to trade in Bengal as early as the commencement of the last century; they were always the first in opulence and importance, till the English became the rulers of the country in the last revolution; and perhaps they would still have been so had the well-planned but badly-executed attempt, made as before mentioned, during the administration of the Governor-General Massel in 1759, succeeded to our wishes." The two nations were at peace, and Clive clearly had no right to prevent the progress of Dutch ships and Dutch troops to their own settlement. But he did not fail to perceive that the presence of a large foreign force in the vicinity of Calcutta, composed in a great measure of European soldiers, and commanded by European officers, would not fail to disturb the dependence of the Nabob on the English, and kindle hopes of ambition which would have been to him a source of great embarrassment. He determined to defeat the projects of the Dutch at the risk of his own commission. He was accustomed to affirm that an Indian Governor must always act with a halter about his neck, and in this instance he exemplified his own assertion. During a period of profound peace he captured the Dutch vessels proceeding up the river, and sent Colonel Forde to attack the Dutch army and prevent its reaching Chinsurah. Forde,

* The treaties relating to Chinsurah are printed as Appendices A, B, and C.

who seemed to feel the halter already chafing his neck, demanded the Governor's written authority for an act so inconsistent with the law of nations. Clive, to whom the note of demand was addressed, received it when playing at cards. Without quitting the table he wrote an answer in pencil—"Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the order of Council to-morrow." There is nothing greater than this in all Livy. Forde met and discomfited the Dutch, and Dutch ambition was quenched by the daring devices of Clive, as that of the French had previously been.

Of the origin of Chinsurah we have been able to obtain no account; but one of the escutcheons in the church refers to a Governor who died in 1665. Fort Gustavus, before it was entirely demolished, bore the date of 1687 on its northern and 1692 on its southern gate. It must therefore have been a century and a half old when it was levelled with the ground. The beams of this edifice, which were of the largest scantling and equal in size to two of our modern beams, were found to be as sound as on the day they were inserted into the building. They were of Java teak, and had been sent up from Batavia. It may not be unimportant thus to place on record the fact that teak has been found to resist the humidity of the climate and the attacks of white-ants for a hundred and fifty years. The garden of the Government House was tastefully laid out and adorned with statuary. The statues have long since disappeared, and the walk in the alley of trees is now trod only by British soldiers.

The Dutch grew and flourished in India, as they had done in Europe, by their steady perseverance in mercantile pursuits, from which they appear to have been diverted on only one occasion, when, in 1757, the successes of Clive revealed the weakness of the Mahomedan Government, which they had been accustomed to regard with feelings of awe, and to conciliate with humiliating gifts, and gave them hopes of being able to establish a political power. But Colonel Forde cured them of all such ambition. We think the period between 1770 and 1780 may be regarded as that in which their trade had attained its most palmy state. At an earlier period, the charge of the Dutch settlements in Bengal appears to have greatly exceeded the profits. A large and useless military force was entertained, and the agents of the Company plundered them in the most flagrant manner. Their conduct is thus described in a letter from the superior authorities at Batavia: "For a series of years a succession of Directors in Bengal have been guilty of the greatest enormities and the foulest dishonesty; they have looked upon the Company's effects confided to them as a booty thrown open to their depredations; they have most shamefully and arbitrarily falsified the invoice prices; they have violated, in the most disgraceful manner, all our orders and regulations with regard to the purchase of goods, without paying the least attention to their oaths and duty."

At a subsequent period the military and naval establishments in Bengal were reduced to ten artillery men, sixty-nine seamen and marines, and forty-eight soldiers, including officers, and seven surgeons and assistants. At the same time, we find that there were sixty-four civilians and two ecclesiastical functionaries. Great and successful efforts were made to repress the spirit of peculation which had grown up in the administration. It appears that the chief profit of the Company

was derived, not so much from its exports to Europe, as from the trade in opium to Java. Eight hundred chests of the drug were annually obtained at the Patna Agency and shipped to Batavia, from whence it was distributed through the Archipelago, and possibly sent on to China. Each chest contained 125 lbs., and cost the Company between 700 and 800 rupees, including freight, insurance and other charges. The chest sold at Batavia for about 1,250 rupees; and the clear profit on the investment of the year was about four lakhs of rupees.

The settlement of Chinsurah was subordinate to that of Batavia, and all vacancies were filled up by the public authorities of that place, the local Council being permitted only to nominate to officiating appointments. The Government consisted of a Governor or Director and seven Members of Council, five of whom had a right to vote as well as to advise, while two had no other privilege than that of advising. The Chief was obliged to submit all matters of importance to the consideration of his Council, and to be guided by the voice of the majority; but as its members were dependent on him for their emoluments, the check of the Council was more nominal than real. Although the official salary of the Chief Director was exceedingly small, his perquisites were very extensive. Mr. Vernet stated the annual expenses of his household at 36,000 rupees, which was considered moderate in comparison with those of his predecessors, some of whom expended not less than a lakh of rupees a year—a sum equal to that which the English President at Calcutta was supposed to disburse in his domestic establishment. Though only the head of a commercial factory, he maintained no little state. He was the only person in the settlement who enjoyed the privilege of being carried "in a palankeen, sitting on a chair." This kind of vehicle is now completely extinct. When he rode through the town, the natives were obliged in some places to play on their instruments of music. He was preceded by chobdars, or attendants armed with a staff entirely covered with silver, while the inferior members of Council were allowed chobdars with only half-mounted staves. The members of Council were styled senior merchants, as in the English service; and each one had some distinct department of business entrusted to him. The fiscal, or sheriff, who was also the mayor of the town, had the rank of a senior with the pay of a junior merchant. But in those days the emoluments of one who united in his person the powers of Judge and Magistrate made his mere pay a matter of indifference. He had authority to punish by flogging at a stake or by fines, and the fines appear to have been appropriated to his own use. We are even told that he sometimes fined wealthy banians 20,000 rupees for the most trifling offence, and tied them up to a post and whipped them till it was paid. It will be readily supposed that the fiscal was the most important person in the town. "The Indians," says Stavorinus, "stand more in awe of him on account of his office than of the Director"—just as in our own administration the Magistrate is more regarded by the people than the Commissioner.

Chinsurah is described in 1770 as requiring three-quarters of an hour to walk around it. The houses were built, like all other houses of the period, without flues, and the lower floor was almost level with the ground, and of course so completely saturated with humidity that we cease to wonder at the extraordinary mortality of the times. Glass

windows were unknown; frames of twisted cane were used in their stead. "Glass," says our authority, "would be very uncomfortable in the great heats which prevail for nine months of the year." This was before punkas had been invented, and for them we are indebted to the ingenuity of a Dutch Governor, who first brought them into use, at the close of the last century. Glass windows are now essential, not so much to Indian comfort as to Indian existence. Without them we should be unable to exclude the cold air in winter or the hot wind in the summer. In this age of modern luxury, the only mode of keeping a house cool is to close all the glass windows, darken the rooms, and set the punkas in motion. The church at Chinsurah, which stands immediately above the ghât at the entrance of the town from the south, was the joint gift of Mr Sichterman and Mr. Vernet. Sichterman erected the steeple with a chime clock in 1744, and Vernet added the Church 24 years afterwards; thus reminding us of the popular remark that the Frenchman invented the frill and the Englishman added the shirt. But the Dutch appear to have been very indifferent in matters of religion. For many years after the Church was erected there was no clergyman; service was performed by a Ziekentrooster, or "comforter of the sick," who was not in holy orders. When children were to be christened, the Dutch were obliged to send for a clergyman from Calcutta, "who was liberally paid for his trouble."

The earliest Christian church in Chinsurah was built by the Armenians in the year 1695, and it was also the first Church ever erected in Bengal by that once powerful body who united political negotiations with their mercantile enterprises, and enjoyed such extensive influence throughout the East. In the church at Chinsurah there is, or there was, an epitaph over the tomb of Johannes Marcar, the son of the founder, in which this influence is proudly commemorated: "Here lies interred the famous Kharib or foreigner Coja Johannes, the son of Marcar, an Armenian, from Julpha, of the country of Shosh. He was a great merchant, honoured with the favour of Kings and Viceroys. He travelled north, south, east, and west, and died at Hooghly, in Hindustan, 7th November 1697." The Catholic chapel was completed in 1740, chiefly from funds bequeathed to that object by Mrs. Sebastian Shaw.

We obtain an interesting view of the state of the Dutch Factory of Chinsurah, and the footing on which it stood in reference to the English Government of Bengal, as well as of the manners of the times, from Stavorinus's narrative of the official visit paid by the Dutch Director to the English President in 1770. Though that writer is by no means an authority in matters beyond the sphere of his knowledge—as, for instance, when he tells us that the Vedas were orignally written in Persian, and that Patna was 90 miles above Chinsurah, yet there is no reason to question his credibility relative to transactions in which he himself bore a part. The visit he describes was intended as a compliment to Mr. Cartier, who had just assumed the government of Calcutta. The Dutch Director embarked at four o'clock in the afternoon at Chinsurah in company with eight persons. The garrison was drawn up on the occasion in two lines, and a detachment, consisting of an officer and twenty-four privates, accompanied the Director to serve as

his body-guard. He embarked in the "Company's great budgerow," in the large room of which thirty-six people could sit down to table. A salute of twenty-one guns announced his departure from his own settlement. Each individual in his suite had his own private budgerow; there were also two vessels used as kitchens or cook-boats, and two as "store-ships" to carry the provisions for this long voyage from Chinsurah to Calcutta, besides those in which the body-guard was embarked. The whole fleet consisted of no fewer than thirty-three vessels. It reached Chitpore at seven the next morning, where the party awaited the arrival of the deputation sent from the English Government to receive the Director, and which consisted of Mr. Russel, the second in command, and several other functionaries. On his arrival, the Dutch gentlemen went on shore, and, after breakfasting at his garden-house, proceeded to town in five carriages sent by the Governor, and at 10 o'clock alighted at the house prepared for their reception. It stood next to the old Government House, and had recently been purchased by Mahommed Reza Khan for a lakh and twenty thousand rupees. It contained many roomy apartments, and was hung with damask silk and fitted up in the European style. In the area before the house stood a company of eighty sepoys commanded by a European officer, and they continued to act as guard-of honour as long as the Dutch Director continued in the settlement. As soon as Mr. Cartier heard of his arrival, he proceeded to pay his respects, accompanied by all the members of Council. The Director said that the object of his visit was to congratulate the Governor on his appointment, and added, as "a particular compliment, that he hoped Mr. Cartier would so well manage matters as to be able to return to Europe in a few years, to which that gentleman replied with a smile." This visit of ceremony lasted an hour. The Governor and Council then departed, and within half an hour the Dutch Director proceeded to return the visit, and remained three-quarters of an hour. At half-past twelve he again went to Government House to dinner, where he found a table of sixty or seventy covers laid out in a large and airy saloon. Half the guests consisted of military officers, for whom we are told the Government kept open house every day. When the cloth was removed, a *hookah* was placed on the table before each one of the company, which they smoked for half an hour; they then rose from table and retired to their respective dwellings.

At six in the evening Mr. Cartier waited on the Dutch Director and conducted him to his country seat at Belvedere, about two Dutch miles from Calcutta, where he was entertained with an excellent concert performed by amateurs, and an elegant supper. At midnight he returned to his residence in town. The next morning, at nine, Mr. Cartier again waited on him with an invitation to a grand ball which was to be given that evening at the court-house. The ball was opened by Mrs. Cartier and the Dutch Director. The company was very numerous, and "all were magnificently attired, especially the ladies, who were decked with a profusion of jewels." A collation was served in an adjoining room, and the assembly did not break up before the following morning. The next afternoon, at half-past three, the Dutch Director took his leave of the Governor of Calcutta and returned with his suite to the fleet at Chitpore in the Governor's

coaches, accompanied by the same gentlemen who had been deputed to welcome him, and escorted by six of the Governor's life-guards. The Director was saluted on his departure from Calcutta, as he had been on his arrival, with nineteen guns from the ramparts of Fort William. The visit cost him a thousand rupees in *buxis* or vails to the Governor's servants. The fleet weighed anchor with the flood tide, and reached Giretty early the next morning, where the party were received by Mr. Chevalier and breakfasted with him. At nine o'clock the breakfast in those days of formality and etiquette seems to have been rather early. They rode from Giretty to Chandernagore, and after paying some visits proceeded to Chinsurah, where all the members of Council were in attendance to honour the return of their Chief, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from Fort Gustavus.

The fort from which these salutes were fired has ceased to exist. The Dutch, finding their settlements in India a mere burden on their finances, after they had ceased to be valuable as factories, very wisely resolved to dispose of them; and the British Government was not displeased with an opportunity of being relieved from the extravagant and profligate expenditure incurred by their servants on the island of Sumatra. An exchange accordingly took place twenty years ago; the Dutch were left in undivided possession of the island, and the English received Malacca and Chinsurah, together with the subordinate factories, in lieu of Fort Marlborough and its costly dependencies. The old Fort and Government House at Chinsurah were soon after demolished to make room for a splendid range of barracks capable of accommodating a thousand men, and no token remains to tell that the settlement once belonged to the Dutch but the escutcheons of the Governors, which still continue to adorn the walls of the Church.

The above is from an article in one of the early numbers of the *Calcutta Review.*

The following information in gleaned from the Hooghly Collectorate records:—

The Dutch established themselves at Chinsurah in the 17th century, the first sannad granted them by the Emperor Shah Jehan being dated 1638. The date given on an old stone now in the racket-court is 1687, but it is not known what event it is intended to commemorate,—probably the building of Fort Gustavus (see page 8).

The English took possession of Chinsurah on the 28th July 1795.* It was restored to the Dutch on the 20th September 1817, its affairs being administered during the interval by a special Commissioner, Mr. R. Birch. During this interval the Dutch paid a yearly rental of sicca Rs. 847 for the lands left in their possession (138. V. 14-4-32) (56. V. 27-10-27). In a letter to the Collector, dated 27th May 1818, the Dutch Resident, the Honble D. Overbeck, mentions that the English Government had in 1811 bought "the materials of our dilapidated Factory at Dacca for sicca Rs. 1,152-4; and in return (meaning I suppose by way of adjustment) I collected the arrears of the ground rent and *chuppa mehal* (*sic*) for Chinsurah

* Of its seizure in 1781 along with the Dutch factories at Patna and other places I find no record.

up to August 1817." There is a further allusion in the same letter to a balance of sicca Rs. 24,927-11 to the credit of the Poor Fund in 1795, which had dwindled down to sicca Rs. 8,000 on the date of its restoration to the Dutch. Reference is also made to the existence of a Dutch fort at Chinsurah and to a road called "Van Hoorn's Dyke." The former has entirely disappeared, but the remains of the latter are still to be seen between Chinsurah and the Chandernagore railway-station.

Before the final cession of Chinsurah to the English there was a somewhat serious dispute about extradition, the police having, in the excitement of pursuit, followed up two offenders into Dutch territory and there captured them. The Magistrate of Hooghly writes (8. V. 10-3-24) to disclaim any "unprovoked insult to the Netherlands flag, or any mature deliberation and previously devised plan," as charged against him by the Governor. Our Dutch neighbours appear to have been peaceably inclined, and to have devoted all their energies to commerce and trade; not even looking to the land as a chief source of revenue, but yet not hesitating to impose *abwabs* and taxes of all kinds. (37. V. 1-2-28). Their revenue system, if it can be so called, is described on page 74.

By the Treaty dated London, 17th March 1824, Chinsurah was finally ceded to England, along with the other Dutch factories of Calcapore, Dacca, Patna, Fulta, and Balasore, with effect from the 1st March 1825. Chinsurah was not, however, actually made over to us until the 7th May of that year (15. V. 7-12-24). The main provisions of the Treaty are given below. (It is printed in full as Appendix C.)

Article 8.—"His Netherlands Majesty cedes to His Britannic Majesty all his establishments on the Continent of India, and renounces all privileges and exemptions enjoyed or claimed in virtue of those establishments."

By *articles* 9 *and* 10 the Dutch ceded Malacca to England in return for Sumatra and Fort Marlborough. By *articles* 11 *and* 12 all objections were respectively and mutually withdrawn to the occupation of the island of Bencoolen by the Dutch and of Singapore by the English.

Article 14 enjoined that all inhabitants of the ceded territories "shall enjoy for a period of six years (from the date of the ratification of the treaty) the liberty of disposing as they please of their property, and of transporting themselves without let or hindrance to any country to which they may wish to move."

Most of the Dutch residents appear to have remained at Chinsurah; the Governor, the Hon'ble D. Overbeck, and eight minor officials, retiring on the pensions of one-third of their salaries bestowed upon them by the Netherlands Government. Up to 1828 these pensions were paid by Messrs. Palmer and Company of Calcutta, but from that year they were disbursed by the Collector (56. V. 16-4-28). Mr. Overbeck survived until the 25th September 1840. Mr. G. Herklots, gave up his pension and took office under the English Government as "Fiscal of Chinsurah and Registrar and Secretary of the European Court of Justice." He appears to have rendered much valuable assistance in the settlement operations that followed. He also

held the office of Sudder Amin. His salary was sicca Rs. 500 a month, and he was allowed an assistant, Mr. J. G Mitchell, on sicca Rs. 60. His office was in Feringheetolah, near the Armenian Church. The Persian firmans and sannads granted by the Mogul Government to the Dutch were sent for safe custody to the "Presidency Committee of Records," while the European records were placed in charge of Mr. Herklots as Register (15. V. 8-7-25). The firmans above referred to appear to have been four in number, viz. two granted by the Emperor Shah Jehan in 1638 and in 1650 respectively, one by Aurungzebe in 1662, and the fourth by Jehangir Shah in 1712. As in the case of Chandernagore, some of the Dutch land was held direct from the Emperors of Delhi, while other was rented by them from talukdars and lakhirajdars. The boundaries of the settlement are not given, but "at every outlet of the town there was a gate guarded by police-officers to prevent the desertion of European sailors belonging to the Dutch ships and any other prohibited ingress or egress." The revenue paid by the Dutch to the Mogul Government was (15. V. 26-6-30)—:

	Sicca Rs.	A.	P.
For Chinsurah Proper	910	8	0
„ Mirzapore Bazar	235	8	0
„ Ground occupied by the Fort	266	10	0
Total ...	1,412	10	0

For this payment of sicca Rs. 1,412 the Dutch realized the handsome income of sicca Rs. 13,122, of which no less than sicca Rs. 10,950 was collected by means of *sayer* and other similar duties foreign to the spirit of the British revenue system These were, however, continued for one year pending final arrangements, and in 1825 Mr. Walpole was appointed as "Special Commissioner for the arrangement of the land settlement of Chinsurah." He reported that it was "from the khas mehals that any great increase may be hereafter principally derived, provided that the terms of the occupancy and the fact of transfer to a new power leave the tenants liable to an enhanced assessment." (15. V. 8-7-25.) The land revenue arrangements will be described further on (see page 74). While they were in progress, the Dutch barracks were occupied by the depôt of the second (European) regiment, which arrived in January 1826. In the following May the Magistrate issued orders prohibiting any native festivals being held on the "plains and esplanades annexed to the fort, as a large number of recruits has arrived from England." (18. V. 12-5-26.) In 1829 Chinsurah could boast of two hotels, of an auction-room and of a printing press established by Mr. N. D'Rozario. The number of Christian inhabitants of 18 years and more was 76 in Chinsurah and 30 in Bandel. The names of Overbeck, Hoff, Herklots, Feith (a German shoe-maker), Michel (a Frenchman), and of Berg-Andreas, a Danish indigo-planter residing at Talda, are found as having been permitted by the Dutch Government to settle in their territory. Among subsequent settlers, to whom a similar permission was granted by the English, occur the names of W. Bland, an auctioneer, Stephen Mathess, a glove-maker from the Cape, and H. Roberts. superintendent of the cheroot manufactory of Vanzan Dyke & Co. (see page 101). There were also

two missionaries. The old Dutch church and two cemeteries were, under a Resolution of the Governor-General in Council dated 8th July 1825 made over to the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, who engaged to provide for the performance of divine service at Chinsurah. The Revd. J. Morton was the first incumbent of the office of Chaplain, and he was allowed the following establishment:—1 sexton on Rs. 20, 1 bellman Rs. 6, 1 bearer Rs. 2, two coolies at Rs. 3-8 each, two malis at Rs. 4 each, with Rs. 5 per mensem for oil and lighting. To the Dutch Residents the Government granted the old police guard-house, valued at Rs. 2,000, for conversion into a place of worship.

THE FRENCH AT CHANDERNAGORE.

I have not been able to ascertain the exact date of the acquisition by the French of their settlement at Chandernagore,* but the Collector of Hooghly, Mr. E. Sterling, in a letter dated 29th July 1842, states that the Emperor Aurungzebe granted them permission to erect a factory in 1688. He goes on to say:—"The first permission of the Emperor of Delhi or his officers to erect factories was accorded to the French through an individual named Maccarah (*sic*), a native of Ispahan. The Mogul at a subsequent period granted them an exemption from the payment of duties, while M. Dumas at a still more recent period obtained the singular favour to coin money. These privileges show the estimation in which the nation was held. I find the French East India Company was established under the auspices of the great Colbert in the year 1664, and continued its existence for nearly a century, when the French Government made new arrangements and dissolved the Corporation. No mention is made of Chandernagore until it came under the energetic administration of M. Dupleix, who, by his extraordinary activity and zealous conduct, rendered it at once a place of the greatest commercial importance and the centre of great political renown. While his commercial relations extended over the greater part of the western provinces and even reached Tibet, and his vessels navigated the whole of the Indian seas from the Persian Gulf to the east of China, his political negotiations extended to remote estates, and he was engaged in warfare with his neighbours. Fearing an attack he fortified the settlement and dug a deep ditch round it, and in that position defied the Mahrattas, who had now overrun Bengal. Chandernagore under his able government became the astonishment and envy of its neighbours. Money poured in from every quarter. New and surprising sources of commercial wealth were opened, and vast designs of wealth emanated from this one man, in whom the most unlimited confidence was placed. His measures enriched individuals, while his policy widely extended the reputation of his nation. Never perhaps did the glory of the French and their prosperity acquire a more extended field than in this colony on the bank of the Ganges.

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* Sir. W. Hunter gives it as 1673.

Dupleix in 1741, after a successful and brilliant administration of 12 years, was translated to Pondichery and destined to become still more celebrated."*

After his departure to take up the Governor-Generalship of French India, Chandernagore did not long continue under the influence of the impulse which he had given to it. Whether it was that his successors were restricted in their powers or were too indolent; that the duties on commercial enterprise amounted almost to prohibition of trade; that it was neglected by the Home Government; or, more probably, from a combination of all these causes, it is certain that its once flourishing trade had decreased; that it was burdened with debts, and that it was being maintained at a loss. In 1756 the Director-General of the Settlement was M. Renault de St. Germain, whilst the dependent factory of Kassimbazar came early in the year under the charge of M. Law. The garrison in the former place consisted of 146 Europeans and 300 sepoys. Law had with him about a score of European and sixty native soldiers.

The calamity which had overwhelmed Calcutta in 1756 had left Chandernagore uninjured. When the first-named city was threatened by Suraj-ood-dowlah in that year, the English, despairing of assistance from their own people, had invited the Dutch of Chinsurah and the French of Chandernagore to make common cause with them against the enemy. Whilst the Dutch had positively refused, the French, more courteous, had offered the English protection within the walls of Chandernagore. This offer, which would seem to have been made in good faith, was, however, regarded as an insult by the English, and declined. Certain it is that when themselves threatened with the full weight of the Nawab's anger in case they should refuse to assist him in his operations against the English, the French resolutely declined to aid him,—and this although they knew well that the extermination of the English, if unavenged, would probably be only a prelude to an attack upon their own settlement. It happened indeed that after the capture of Calcutta and the flight of the surviving English to Fulta, the Nawab, recognising the loss of revenue caused by their expulsion, appeared disinclined to take hostile measures against the other European settlements on the Hooghly. Contenting himself with quelling the disaffection which had appeared in other parts of his government, he apparently forgot his European enemies and lulled himself into a too confident security.

Such was the state of Bengal, when the fleet and the army under Watson and Clive, which had arrived at Fulta at intervals between the 2nd August and the 20th November, left that place on the 27th December with the intention of recovering Calcutta by force of arms. But the instructions given to these two leaders permitted them to look to something more than the mere recovery of Calcutta. They were directed, should they deem it necessary, to attack the Nawab in his own capital: especially were they exhorted, in case the news of the declaration of war between France and England, then expected, should reach them whilst they had so strong an armament in Bengal, not to fail to use it for the destruction of the rival settlement of Chandernagore.

* What follows is from the *Calcutta Review*, Selection No. 38 March 1844.

The surrender of Calcutta on the 2nd January 1757, and the capture and sack of Hooghly eight days later, are incidents which belong solely to the history of the English settlements; it will therefore be sufficient here to record the bare facts. But it was during the march to Hooghly that Clive received the long looked for intimation of the declaration of war by France against England. To him, and to all the members of the Calcutta Council. it seemed that this intelligence reached them at the most opportune moment. They could not but congratulate themselves that the French had not learned it before the success of the operations of Clive and Watson against Calcutta had been assured. It came to them just after the difficulties of the river navigation had been overcome, when Calcutta had surrendered, and when they did not doubt that the attack upon Hooghly would produce a strong moral effect on the natives of Bengal.

Still, however, the situation of Clive, in itself one of great difficulty, could not bear to be compromised by a too early manifestation of hostile intentions against the French settlement in Bengal. He could not but feel that the Nawab would not leave unavenged the expulsion of his troops from Calcutta, and that he would not easily pardon the raid against one of the principal stations of his province. He could not shut his eyes to the possibility that the French, learning that war between the two nations had been declared, might yet unite with the Nawab, and, by this union, not only baffle his designs on themselves, but crush the attempt permanently to re-occupy Calcutta. It was not, therefore, the time to publish to his enemies all that he had in his heart. It was his part rather, under such circumstances, to temporise, to watch carefully the course of events, and to suffer no opportunity to escape him.

The Nawab, meanwhile, furious at the loss of Calcutta and the destruction of the town of Hooghly, hastily assembled an army of 10,000 foot and 15,000 horse and marched to recover the retaken city of the English. He sent at the same time to the French Chief, M. Renault, and invited him in the most pressing terms to join with him in crushing the nation that was as much the enemy of the French as of himself.

Renault, for his part was in a situation of very great perplexity. He, too, knew well that war had broken out, but it was a question, and a most difficult one, whether with his 146 Europeans, of whom 45 were invalids, he should aid the Nawab, or endeavour to arrange a treaty of neutrality with the English. The former course would lead, in the case of the Nawab's failure, to the certain capture of Chandernagore. He had, besides, received the most positive orders from de Leyrit in no case to attack the English. Would it not then, he argued, be a sounder policy to endeavour to win from the fears of the English, who had then a great respect for the power of the Nawab, and greatly dreaded his junction with the French, the neutrality which should place Chandernagore beyond the reach of danger? After much deliberation, feeling keenly the loss of the opportunity which the indolence and want of enterprise on the part of de Leyrit compelled him to forego, Renault sent a proposition for neutrality during the European war to the Council in Calcutta.

To Clive and Watson, believing as they did that the European troops at Chandernagore amounted to 300 men, and that Law had nearly 100 at Kasimbazar, this proposition was like a messenger from Heaven. From their previous experience in forcing their way up the river Hooghly, they had been inclined to rate the soldiers of the Nawab as infinitely superior, in fighting capabilities, to the levies of Mahomed Alli and Chanda Saheb. They knew that the Nawab, full of anger, was marching against them, and they looked upon the result of a battle with him alone as by no means certain. Were he to be reinforced by the 300 French soldiers whom they believed to be at Chandernagore, they would have but little hope of success. Great, therefore, was their relief when they received this message from Renault, proposing neutrality during the war with Europe.

Instantly they acceded to it; the French Director-General was requested to send deputies to Calcutta to arrange regarding the conditions. This was at once complied with. The French deputies came to Calcutta, the conditions were discussed and agreed upon, the treaty itself was written out fair and was ready for signature, when, instead of signing it, Clive and Watson intimated their intention of proceeding with their whole force for the reduction of the settlement whose representatives they had been thus amusing. Events, in fact, had effaced from the minds of the English Commanders all fear of the Nawab, and had left them free to act as they wished.

There can be no question, in fact, that Clive had accepted in good faith the proposition of M. Renault in the first instance solely because he saw in it a means of preventing the dreaded junction of the French with the Nawab. But on the 4th February he attacked the army of the Nawab before Calcutta, and inflicted upon it a blow that utterly disheartened its leader; on the 9th, he concluded with him a treaty. Thus free from his principal enemy, the thought came into his mind that such an opportunity for crushing the French at Chandernagore would probably never occur again; that it would be feeble policy to neglect it; that there was yet time to do it as, notwithstanding that he and they were mutually agreed upon the terms of the treaty, the treaty itself had not been signed. There was but one obstacle. He did not deem himself strong enough to attack the city whilst there should yet remain a chance of his being attacked by the Nawab. He therefore, on various pretexts, detained the French deputies in Calcutta, whilst he should endeavour to obtain the permission of the Nawab to assail their settlement.

The Nawab refused it. Nevertheless fortune favoured Clive. Satisfied by the Nawab's refusal that an attack upon Chandernagore would be too dangerous to attempt, he prepared to sign the treaty. When, however, on the point of so doing, he met with an unexpected scruple on the part of Admiral Watson, who declined to sign on the ground that the settlement of Chandernagore not being an independent settlement, but under the orders of the Pondicherry authorities, the treaty would require ratification at that city. The Calcutta Government, he argued, was an independent Presidency. For it to agree to a treaty with a dependent settlement was to agree to a treaty liable to be upset. He therefore refused to sign. Clive placed before him the only other

alternative, that of attacking Chandernagore. This, however, he refused to attempt without the consent of the Nawab.

But it was written that Chandernagore was to fall. The very next day a messenger reached the Nawab with the news that Ahmed Shah Abdalli had taken Delhi. Seeing in his own mind the Afghans marching upon Bengal, the terrified Nawab at once wrote to Clive offering him Rs. 1,00,000 a month if he would march to his assistance. Two days later a boat from Hidgellee arrived off Calcutta with the intelligence that three English ships of war, with three companies of infantry and one of artillery, were at its mouth, and that another—the *Cumberland*—was off Balasore. These two items of intelligence removed any apprehensions that Clive might have had regarding an attack from the Nawab's army; they appeared likewise to silence the scruples of Watson. Was it considered that in giving them this increased force, and in paralysing for the time the movements of the Nawab, the voice of Providence had spoken out too clearly to be misunderstood?

Meanwhile Renault, having heard from his agents the acceptance of the terms of the treaty, had regarded the matter as settled, and had ceased to disquiet himself as to the possible movements of the English. His surprise, then, may be imagined when his deputies, returning, brought him, instead of a signed treaty, the terrible intelligence that the English fleet and army were on their way to Chandernagore. However indignant he might have felt, however much he may have reproached his superior at Pondicherry for exposing him to such a danger, Renault yet prepared, on its approach, to meet it with courage and vigour. Chandernagore possessed many capabilities of defence. The square fort, called Fort d'Orleans, situated at an equal distance from either extremity of the town, immediately on the river bank, mounted ten 32-pounders on each of its bastions. On the ramparts, at regular intervals between the bastions on the river and southern faces, were 24-pounders; the south-western curtain angle was covered by a ravelin on which were eight 32-pounders, whilst the flat terrace of the high church within the fort, and which overtopped its walls, had been converted into a battery and armed with six guns. An outer ditch and glacis were being constructed, though all the houses on the proposed glacis had not been demolished at the time. Beyond this glacis, however, especially on the river and southern face, several batteries had been thrown up, commanding all the approaches to the fort. The garrison consisted, as we have said, of 146 European troops and 300 sepoys; but nearly 300 Europeans were collected from the inhabitants and sailors, and were armed for the defence. Prominent among these last was Captain de Vigne, the Commander of one of the French ships, to whom the defence of the bastions had been consigned by Renault.

But it was not alone in their fortifications that the French confided. The river Hooghly at Chandernagore was not even in those days easily navigable by ships of heavy burden. There was, in fact, but one practicable channel, and this could be blocked up by sunken ships. Here, accordingly, Renault ordered several ships to be sunk, about a hundred and fifty yards south of the fort, and on this point

the guns of one of the batteries outside the fort were directed. In this operation an artillery officer named Terraneau co-operated.

The English force, numbering 700 Europeans and 1,500 natives, marched from Howrah on the 7th March, 150 artillery-men with their guns following in boats, escorted by Admiral Watson's fleet. On the 14th Clive came with his little force in sight of Chandernagore. Avoiding the batteries in front of the western and southern faces, he took possession of the high road on its northern side, and then, changing direction towards the fort, occupied the houses on the north-west, the French skirmishers retiring, as he approached, to a battery on the road, commanded by the north-west bastion. From the houses he kept up all night a strong fire, which compelled the French to evacuate the battery and to retire within the fort. The abandonment of this battery necessitated the abandonment of all the batteries except those on the river face. The following day the English strengthened their position in the houses, suffering but little from the fire of the fort. On the 16th the guns were landed, and for the next five days a mutual cannonade was kept up, on the whole to the advantage of the garrison, the fire from whose heavy guns told with tremendous effect on the brick-built houses which the English had improvised as batteries.

It was not, however, Renault well knew, on the shore that the fate of Chandernagore was to be decided. Could he but beat off those powerful men-of-war who were making their way slowly and cautiously through the intricate channels of the Hooghly, he would care but little for all the efforts of the English troops on the main land. He could at least hope that the Nawab, to whom he had sent a pressing appeal for assistance, and part of whose army was then marching towards the town of Hooghly, would speedily operate on their rear. Meanwhile, however, the English ships approached. On the 20th, they neared the place where the ships had been sunk. This, however, did not stop them. The French artillery-man, Terraneau, to whom we alluded as co-operating in this work, had, in consequence of some quarrel with Renault, deserted to the English, and had sold them the secret that the channel had not been entirely closed by the ships, but that there was way for a passage round them. This information proved to be correct. The task was then easy. On the morning of the 24th, the *Tiger*, having Admiral Poock on board, sailing up till opposite the ravelin, compelled its evacuation; she then proceeded on and anchored opposite the north-east bastion. Admiral Watson's ship, the *Kent*, was not so fortunate. Assailed by a tremendous fire from the south-east bastion when about to anchor opposite the ravelin, her Captain was killed, and the ship, drifting down, anchored, stern foremost, below the bastion. One consequence was that the *Salisbury* was unable to come up, and could exercise but a slight influence on the attack.

The French, by this time, had abandoned all their outside batteries and were concentrated within the fort. Here they were under the orders of de Vigne. But, with a limited garrison, many of them civilians, exposed for the first time to fire, having, too, to defend the land face against Clive, whilst he returned the fire of the ships from the river front, even his energy and courage were of but little use. It very soon became apparent that resistance was hopeless. After defending the place with

great spirit for three hours, and having lost 110 men, including the inhabitants, in killed and wounded, Renault determined to surrender. The white flag was therefore hoisted, the firing at once ceased, and at 3 p.m. conditions of capitulation were agreed upon.

By these it was arranged that the Director-General of the Settlement, his councillors and civil officers, should go where they would, taking with them their effects; the Jesuits were permitted to take away their church ornaments, but the garrison remained prisoners of war. A few days after the party at Kassimbazar, under the command of Law, reinforced by some fifty of the garrison of Chandernagore, who had managed to escape when surrender was no longer doubtful, retired to Bhagulpore. Thenceforth they may be regarded rather as adventurers taking service under Native Princes than as an integral portion of the French power in India. It will be sufficient only to state that to the last Law remained true to his character for feebleness; that he remained at Bhagulpore whilst Plassey was being fought; that when a forward movement after that battle would have saved Suraj-ood-dowlah, he did not make it; and that, finally, he was taken prisoner after the battle of Gya in 1761, fighting gallantly it is true, atoning to some extent by his personal valour for his many faults as a General and a leader.

The capture of Chandernagore was not less a seal to French dominion in Bengal, than it was the starting-point of British supremacy in that province. It was necessary for the schemes of Clive. With the example he had had before him of the constant warfare between the French and English in the Carnatic, he dared not hesitate, when he had the means in his power, and when the occasion was propitious, to prevent for ever the possibility of similar contests in Bengal. He crushed Chandernagore just as, we believe, had Dupleix been at that settlement, Dupleix, uniting with the Nawab, would have striven to crush him. It was unfortunate for France that at such a crisis her interests were so feebly appreciated that her representative at Pondicherry possessed neither the foresight nor the energy to provide Chandernagore against a contingency that was always possible. The misfortune was fatal to her. Clive, freed from apprehension as to French rivalry, speedily overthrew the native powers in the country, not pausing till he had completed the conquest of the richest province of Hindustan, till from Calcutta to Allahabad the law of the English ruler was indisputed. Chandernagore, on the contrary, received her death-wound. Though restored to France, it has only been that she might drag out an existence replete with memories of former greatness; that she might witness, powerless to prevent it, the exaltation and supremacy of the nation with which, for eighty-one years, from 1676 to 1757, she had contested the trade of Bengal. This was but one result of the policy of a nation which could remove a Dupleix to replace him by a man who succeeded too surely in infusing his timid and feeble spirit into his subordinates.*

Chandernagore was not restored until the peace in 1763. The terms of the treaty prohibited the French erecting fortifications, entertaining troops, and assuming sovereignty. In 1794 the settlement was again captured and continued in our hands until 1816,

* Selections from the *Calcutta Review*.

when it was given up. The prisoners taken on this occasion had to execute a form of *parole*, on which they were permitted to go at large or to reside in the Hooghly district. In 1807 I find mention made of the escape of four French prisoners from Fort William.

* Immediately to the north of the ghàt of that name is the French garden of Giretty, about one-third the extent of the Barrackpore Park. If there be any one place in Bengal, after Gour with its ruined palaces and mosques, which presents an air of the most melancholy desolation, heightened by the remembrance of its former beauty and cheerfulness, it is this country house of the French Governors of Chandernagore. Whether we pass it from the riverside, or look upon it from the road, it wears the appearance of the thickest jungle of the Sunderbuns, where the imagination pictures to itself the foot-marks of the tiger and the wild deer. At the northern extremity of the grounds are the remains of its once splendid mansion, which has become so entirely dilapidated as to be scarcely even picturesque. In this house, seventy years ago, were assembled the beauty and fashion of Chinsurah, Chandernagore, Serampore, and Calcutta. The walls of the saloon, which was thirty-six feet in height and of proportionate width and lengths, were adorned with paintings, and when in all its splendour, and filled with company, must have carried back the mind to some of the public rooms in the Chateau of Versailles. Here the Governor of Chandernagore entertained Clive and Verelst and Hastings and Sir W. Jones with a degree of magnificence little inferior to that exhibited in the old Government House in Calcutta. The long alley of magnificent trees to the north of the house was formerly filled with the carriages of guests to the number, it is said, of more that fifty. Captain Stavorinus tells us that on the 22nd of February 1770 the Dutch paid a national visit to the French Governor, and as these visits were accompanied with much ceremony when the guest was received at the chief factory, the Dutch Director preferred paying it at the country seat of Giretty. The party set off from Chinsurah at four o'clock, in six carriages, and reached the Chateau at six, where they were received at the bottom of the steps and conducted into a large saloon, in which the principal ladies and gentlemen of Chandernagore were assembled. At seven the Dutch guests were invited to witness a play in a slight building which had been erected for the purpose. The play was over at ten, when they were led into a large room, in which a hundred ladies and gentlemen sat down to an elegant supper. The party broke up at one, and returned to Chinsurah.

THE LANDS OF THE FRENCH SETTLEMENT.

It is not perhaps generally known that with the exception of about seven bigahs of land, which was probably granted to them rent free by the Nawab of Moorshedabad for the erection of a factory about the middle of last century, a considerable part of the land included within the boundaries of French Chandernagore pays revenue to the British Government. Besides this land they hold other lands in sub-tenancy

* The following account of the French garden house at Ghyretty is also from the *Calcutta Review* (1844.)

from zemindars of the place, to whom they pay rent periodically. The talook of Gondalpara, which the French Government holds in putni, was formerly the property of the Mahomedan foujdar Nawab Khan Jehan Khan. He made over the talook to the French on the condition of their paying a fixed annual sum to himself and to his heirs. Two other talooks belonging to the above foujdar passed in the same way to the East India Company on their assumption of the Dewanni, viz. Shunbinara and Mahamadaminpore.

The details of the present payment of Government revenue by the French as registered proprietors are given below:—

		Rs.	A.	P.
Estate No. 163, Ganj Sukrabad	...	1,219	6	7½
,, ,, 242, Bagh Chandernagore	...	88	13	8
		1,308	4	3½

The amount originally paid was Rs 1,466-8-3, but at the treaty of Paris, signed on the 31st March 1853, an adjustment of boundaries took place between English and French territory, at which the English gave up some 36 odd bigahs and received in exchange about 191 bigahs. The difference in the Government revenue of the lands thus exchanged was Rs. 158-3-11½, by which amount the former jama of the French was reduced. The payment, or rather the non-payment, of this revenue appears to have been a constant source of friction between the English and French revenue officers and the Revenue Accountant to the Board. The Collector of Hooghly, under the rules then in force, charged interest on the arrears and constantly threatened sale, but he seems never to have proceeded to any extreme measures. The Revenue Accountant was not satisfied with the Collector's plea of political inexpediency in regard to the realization of interest, and the matter was finally referred to Government, who decided in 1827 that such balances were not to carry interest (152. V. 26-9-40).

The payment of Government revenue by the French led to an assumption by some of the early Collectors of Hooghly of jurisdiction over the land for which such revenue was paid. This question was brought to a head in 1844 by the Abkari Superintendent, who established a liquor-shop at Khalsona on a small piece of land just within the French ditch, but the proprietors of which paid revenue to the English Government. It appeared on local enquiry by the Commissioner that the British police had always patrolled this piece of land, and that an excise-shop had been established upon it by previous Collectors for many years past. The attention of the French Government was only drawn to the matter by a complaint of one of their abkars that the shop was injurious to his, and consequently to the French Government's interests. It was established during the course of this inquiry (208. V. 21-3-44) that the trenches round Chandernagore, commonly called the French ditch, were constructed by the French Government at its own expense upwards of 60 years ago, as authorised by the 13th article of the Treaty of Versailles in 1783. The French did not claim the proprietary right to all the land within the boundaries of this ditch, but they did claim exclusive jurisdiction therein, and the claim was eventually allowed by

Government order No. 1086, dated 23rd April 1845, in spite of the wishes of the proprietors of the land, who are said to have "evinced the most decided repugnance to being placed under the jurisdiction of the French Courts." (120. V. 24-4-45.) I find several references to occasional disputes between the two Governments regarding the establishment of excise-shops, markets, &c., too near to the French boundary, but, on the whole, our early relations with our French neighbours were amicable and satisfactory, and this notwithstanding the constant complaints of the British officers regarding the smuggling of opium and harbouring of criminals in French territory—complaints which are made equally loudly at the present day.

Before closing this account of Chandernagore, I may mention a curious panic which arose in November 1832, to the effect that the plague had broken out there with great violence. Dr. Wise, then Civil Assistant Surgeon at Hooghly, paid a visit of inquiry to the place and reported "the deadly malady which at present rages" to be a fever. (38. V. 6-11-32.)

The dome-roofed Church, which forms so conspicuous an object as the traveller passes Chandernagore by river, was built in 1726 by the Italians, who had previously established a mission at Agra.

THE DANES AT SERAMPORE.

The Danes originally established their trade in Bengal in the year 1698, and paid Rs. 30,000 in ten annual instalments for their *firman*, which was granted them by the Prince Azim-ud-din, the grandson of the Emperor Arungzebe. In 1753 we find Mr. Soctman, the Chief of the Danish establishment, residing at Chandernagore, where the vessels consigned to him unloaded their cargoes. The return cargo was shipped from that town as the property of the Governor, Mr. de Leyrit, though not without many disputes with the Nabob's custom-house officers, who doubtless had some suspicions of the ownership of the goods. The Danish factors therefore felt the necessity of obtaining a settlement which they might call their own in Bengal, and they opened a negotiation with the Nabob through the well-known Monsr. Law, the French Agent at Cossimbazar, who enjoyed pre-eminent influence at the Moorshedabad durbar. The letters which he wrote in April and the two succeeding months of 1755 were lately in existence at Tranquebar, and would doubtless throw much light on the politics of the Moorshedabad Court at this interesting period. There were no public posts in Bengal at that time, and M. Law's letter of the 30th July, announcing that he had succeeded in obtaining a perwanna for the erection of a factory at Serampore, was twelve days in reaching Chandernagore.

M. Law himself arrived with that document on the 6th of September, together with an order on the Fouzdar of Hooghly to deliver possession, but a month elapsed before the arrangements with this important personage could be completed. Old Soctman's records say:—"We went to Ackna and Serampore on the 7th October 1755 to take possession of our ground with the necessary ceremonies, but the

whole day passed in disputes, and we were obliged to go there again." They were entitled by the viceregal *firman* to the occupation of sixty beeghas of ground. They preferred taking three beeghas in Serampore and fifty-seven in Ackna, because "no ship could lay at Ackna, though a good factory might be built there on a large open spot of ground." They discovered that if they took the whole quantity in Serampore they would have been obliged to purchase all the houses which stood on it, of the value of 10 or 12,000 rupees. This shows that the village was of some mark even before a European settlement was established in it. Soctman therefore contented himself with the river frontage and the secure anchorage before it. On the 8th of October 1755 the Danish flag was hoisted at Serampore and four peons were appointed to guard it. The expenses incurred at the Durbar in obtaining the *firman*, in presents to the three Nabobs, and in the purchase of the ground from the proprietors, had amounted to a lakh and sixty thousand rupees, £16,000. The factory, however, advanced slowly. It was seven weeks before the factor appointed a gomasta, "in which he followed the example of the other nations in Bengal," and he was a person of the *Catmah*, or weaver caste. On the 15th of December Ziegenbalk, the second in command, remeasured the ground, and it was resolved to surround the factory with a mud fence and a straw roof to protect it during the rains. Most opportunely, some one at this time offered to enter the Danish service on Rs. 40 a month to superintend the building of the factory and the fencing of the ground, if he was honoured with the rank and title of Lieutenant; whereupon Soctman and Ziegenbalk passed an order in Council that "if he could not be prevailed on to serve for less, he should have Rs. 40, but without a free house or lights." It was just at this juncture that the young Nabob Seraj-ud-dowlah passed down with 50,000 men on the opposite bank, breathing vengeance on the English for having fortified Calcutta and given protection to Kissendas. He sent across the water to order Soctman to join the army with all his troops, cavalry, infantry, and artillery; to which the Governor replied that he had neither horse, foot, nor guns, but was living in a miserable mud hut with only two or three servants.

The settlement grew and flourished under the predominance of European influence in Bengal, and participated in that security for property which the establishment of the English Government had introduced. It was also greatly assisted by the capital of the servants of the English East India Company. They had formerly been permitted to remit their fortunes to England by bills from the local authorities on the Court of Directors; but this permission was found to afford such great facilities to the Government of Bengal for borrowing money, the payment of which the Court was expected to provide for at home, that it was very wisely withdrawn. The British officers were therefore constrained to make their remittances through the foreign factories, and this accession of capital gave a new impulse to their commercial enterprises. At the close of the American war England was involved in hostilities with the three maritime nations of North America, France, and Holland, and English vessels were exposed to the attacks of privateers, and English trade subjected to very heavy insurances.

These were the golden days of Serampore commerce. Before the close of that war no fewer than twenty-two ships, mostly of three masts, and amounting in the aggregate to more than ten thousand tons, cleared out from the port in the short space of nine months. This trade, though eminently profitable to the Danish East India Company, was perhaps still more advantageous to their factors, who, while in the receipt of salaries not exceeding two hundred rupees a month, drank champagne at 80 rupees a dozen, and in a few years returned to Denmark with large fortunes. The late John Palmer of Calcutta, usually styled the Prince of Merchants, was the Agent of the Danish Company, and has repeatedly assured us that he has sat day after day in the godowns at Serampore counting and weighing out goods, and that he seldom realized less than a lakh of rupees a year.

The first interruption which the trade of Serampore received after a course of uninterrupted prosperity for forty-five years was in the year 1801, when, in consequence of hostilities between England and Denmark, it was sequestered by the English authorities. But it was restored almost immediately after, at the peace of Amiens, and the loss was rapidly repaired. For five years after it throve beyond all former example. As the Bay swarmed with French privateers and insurances had risen almost to a prohibitory rate, the merchants of Calcutta eagerly availed themselves of the neutral flag of Denmark, and obtained Danish papers and a Danish Commander for their vessels as a protection against the privateers which infested the Sand-Heads. English vessels fell into the hands of the French by the dozen, and were carried to the Isle of France and confiscated. It was currently reported, and never contradicted, that some of the Calcutta merchants despatched vessels under Danish colours to that island, and purchased their own cargoes at a reduced rate, and brought them back to be sold in Calcutta. In 1808 the sun of Danish prosperity set for ever in Bengal, after it had shone for a little more than half a century. England robbed Denmark of her fleet at Copenhagen, and a detachment of British troops crossed over from Barrackpore and took possession of the town and of the well-filled store-houses of Serampore; while the Hon'ble Captain George Elliot, the son of the Governor-General, Lord Minto, sent up the boats of the *Modeste* frigate, which he commanded, and seized on three rich vessels lying in the harbour. From the blow thus inflicted, the Danish East India Company never recovered. Serampore was restored after the pacification of Europe in 1815, but the Company was on the verge of bankruptcy. The traffic in country piece-goods, which had been the staple of Danish commerce, had begun to yield to the rivalry of English manufactures, and in a short time after the restoration of the town the products of English power-looms completely extinguished the trade in Indian goods. Since 1815 one vessel, and one vessel alone, has visited the port. For the last thirty years the settlement has been maintained only by draining the home treasury. The King of Denmark has at length yielded to the wishes of his people and disposed of possessions which entailed a heavy expense; and Serampore and Tranquebar were at the beginning of the last year transferred to the British Government for

the sum of twelve lakhs of rupees, £1,20,000; and on the 11th of October 1845, just ninety years and three days after Sootman had first hoisted the Danish flag in this town, it was taken down and English colours hoisted in its stead.*

Of all our foreign neighbours in the Hooghly district, the Danes at Serampore appear to have been the most peaceably disposed. There is no mention of them in the various treaties and engagements made with the Nabobs of Moorshedabad, nor does it appear that they were engaged in any of the disputes which embittered the relations of England with the Dutch and the French. Their sole object, like that of the other European settlers, was trade. In 1759 they extended their boundaries by renting from the zemindar of Seoraphuli the remainder of mouzah Serampore along with mouzahs Akna and Pearapore. The yearly rent paid was sicca Rs. 1,601 (= Company's Rs. 1,708). These properties form a part of the estate known as Serampore, and now borne on the British taujih as No. 2279. The Danish possessions were ceded to England by the Treaty of 1845, which is reproduced in Appendix D. There is a letter from Dr. Marshman in June 1828, which contains the following passage :—" We have planted a little native Christian village and built the houses and a little chapel." Beyond disputes about sites of liquor-shops very little communication seems to have taken place between the British and Danish authorities. For taking over the newly-acquired settlement, Messrs. Harvey and Bayley were appointed Commissioners. The exact date of transfer was the 10th October 1845. No change was, for the first year, made in the Danish arrangements except the abolition of all taxes and cesses which were opposed to the spirit of the British Regulations (191. V. 11-10-45): such were marriage fees, bazar and auction duties, and a tax on pân and betel. The land revenue arrangements are described on page 79. The ferries were taken over by the Magistrate. The police arrangements were also made by him. The Danish police-officer, Mr. J. De Cruz, was made an inspector, and afterwards, I am told, became a Deputy Magistrate. A thana was established with a force of one jemadar on Rs. 8, five duffadars on Rs. 6, and 25 burkandazes on Rs. 5 per mensem. They were divided into five beats, for each of which a *ghatti*, or beat-house, was erected at a cost of Rs. 4 only. The Bydyabati thana was removed to Singoor. Mr. (now Sir) Louis S. Jackson, Assistant Magistrate, as the first subdivisional officer of Serampore, took up his residence in the house of the late Danish Governor (the Hon'ble L. Lindhard), and a smaller house in the same compound was reserved for the medical officer. (187. V. 13-2-46.) The establishment sanctioned for the subdivisional officer was :—

		Rs.
1 Meer Moonshee	... ...	50
1 Mohurrir	... ...	15
1 Ditto	... ...	10
1 Sherishtadar (the late Danish)	... ...	40
	Total ...	115

* *Calcutta Review*, 1846.

Mr Jackson soon found this to be insufficient, and began to ask for more. (109. V. 23-3-46.) The state of the Danish finances, as taken over, are shown by the following figures:—

	Rs.		Rs.
Balances of former years	3,947	Collected by Danish Government	3,657
Rents and jalkar for 1845	9,131	Struck off by Danish Government as irrecoverable ...	2,790
		Collected by English ...	1,060
		Balance	5,571
Total ...	13,078	Total ...	13,078

Arrangements were made for the continuance to ten surviving Danish native pensioners of the payment of their pensions aggregating Rs. 29 per mensem.

A short account of the labours of Carey, Marshman, and Ward has been given under the head of Education (page 121). The following is taken verbatim from the *Calcutta Review*, 1846.

Serampore contains three places of Christian worship. The Mission Chapel was part of the building purchased in 1800 by Dr. Carey and his associates, and was till lately surrounded with private rooms. It was subsequently repaired and covered with an iron roof, which has given it a light and elegant appearance. A Roman Catholic Chapel was originally erected in 1764, but it was found too small for the increasing community. It was therefore taken down in 1776, when the present handsome edifice was erected in its stead at an expense of Rs. 13,386, from subscriptions raised partly in Serampore but chiefly in Calcutta, under the auspices of a family which stood foremost in wealth and liberality half a century ago, but had apparently become extinct. We allude to that of the Barettos. Adjoining the Catholic Church a convent has been erected within the last three or four years. The establishment consists of two nuns and two assistants. The Lutheran Church was built by public subscriptions through the exertions of Colonel Bie, and completed in 1805 at an expense of Rs. 18,500. Of this sum Rs. 1,000 was contributed by the Marquis of Wellesley, who is said to have remarked at the time that nothing was wanting to Barrackpore Park but the distant view of a steeple. The sum of Rs. 8,000 was collected in Calcutta, and the remainder in Serampore and Denmark. No service has ever been performed in it by a Danish clergyman in consequence of the capture of the town by the English soon after its erection and the small body of Danes resident in it subsequently to the restoration of the town. The services have been gratuitously conducted by the Serampore missionaries and their colleague, Mr. Mack, during the long period of thirty-seven years. The church has a lofty steeple, which is surrounded by a globe and cross. But this circumstance did not prevent Dr. Carey and his associates preaching in it for years, though they would doubtless have objected to the erection of such a symbol in any edifice built under their own immediate direction. It has also the rudiments of an altar. The only property belonging to the church consists of a pair of large silver candlesticks presented in

1803 by Mrs. Schow. According to the usual custom, these candles were placed on the altar for six months, when the church was covered with the insignia of mourning on the death of the late King, and regularly lighted up during the hours of divine service. But as this exhibition of lighted candles in the day on such an occasion was in conformity with national usage, and not connected with superstitious associations, the late Mr. Mack raised no manner of objection to their introduction, nor were they found to weaken the effect of his admirable discourses.

CHAPTER II.

JURISDICTION, AREA, POPULATION.

JURISDICTION.

In this chapter I shall endeavour to describe as clearly as possible the numerous changes of jurisdiction which were made between the years 1795 and 1845 in Hooghly and its neighbouring districts. Throughout this volume the present district of Howrah, which was not separated as an independent *magisterial* charge until the year 1843, is included in the narrative as part and parcel of the district of Hooghly. Such parts of the latter as were included in the Burdwan Raj formed part of the district of Burdwan, which was ceded to the East India Company in 1760; other parts formed part of Lord Clive's jaghir. It was not until the cession of the Dewani in August 1765 that the whole district was brought under the same system of administration. The various changes in the jurisdictions of our Courts which took place between 1765 and 1795 are so fully described in the *Fifth Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company* (London, 1812; Madras, reprint, 1866), which is, I believe, to be found in every Collector's office library, that it is not necessary in a local history of this kind to give more than a sketch of them.

Beginning with the year 1795, in which the district was first formed, we find it in charge of the Hon'ble C. A. Bruce as the first Judge and Magistrate, with an allowance of Rs. 150 a month "to enable you to provide a court-house and the necessary offices attached to it." This officer corresponded direct with the Governor-General in Council, and was altogether a person of greater influence and importance than the district officer of the present day. Proposals were made even thus early to constitute Hooghly into a separate Collectorate, but they did not then get beyond the stage of discussion. It is in this correspondence that I find the Government revenue of the Burdwan Collectorate (including Hooghly) stated as sicca Rs. 47,26,318, out of which sicca Rs. 20,83,218 was to be paid in the proposed new Collectorate of Hooghly. I find no record of the exact criminal jurisdiction of Mr. Bruce's charge until several years later. Parganas Panduah and Kismat Khosalpore were, however, transferred to it from Burdwan in 1795. In 1809 the Judge and Magistrate was also styled "Superintendent and Commissioner of Chinsurah, Chandernagore, and Serampore." In 1814 the thanas of Bydyabati and Rajapore were transferred from the 24-Parganas to Hooghly, and on the 1st January 1815 the district stood as shown in the following table.

Period.	Number.	Name of Thana.	Number of villages. 1810.	1819.	Remarks.
In 1795	1	Hooghly	161	174	
	2	Bansberia	168	169	
	3	Benipore	197	194	Now Balagarh.
	4	Pandua	191	209	
	5	Dhanakhali	365	372	
	6	Haripal	184	174	
	7	Rajbalhat	271	239	Now Kistanagar.
	8	Jehanabad	355	310	
	9	Dewanganj	262	200	Now Ghatal.
	10	Chunderconah	390	292	Now in Midnapore.
	11	Ghattal	157	155	
	12	Bagnan	354	359	Now in Howrah district.
	13	Ampta	152	129	Ditto.
Added in 1814 ...	14	Rajapore	...	210	Ditto.
	15	Bydyabati	... ..	240	
Do. in 1819 ...	16	Kotra	.....	263	Now at Shampore, in Howrah district.
	17	Ulubaria	... .	248	Now in Howrah district.
Do. in 1831 ...	18	Chinsurah	.....	.. ...	
		Total ...	3,127	3,787	

The size of these 3,787 villages is interesting to note, viz.—

Less than 100 houses	3,056
100 to 250 „	588
250 to 500 „	122
500 to 1,000 „	16
1,000 to 2,500 „	5
	3,787

The above must be admitted to be fully as large a charge as one officer could do justice to single-handed.

In 1817 Mr. A. Ogilvie was deputed to Hooghly as Assistant Collector, and was allowed a deputation allowance. He may be considered as the first subdivisional officer ever appointed in this district. The Collector of Burdwan appears to have very much preferred Hooghly as a residence, for in the above year the Government had to put a stop to his practice of "residing at Hooghly, which has from a temporary indulgence grown up into a custom." (126. V. 7-7-17.)

In 1819 Mr. R. Saunders was appointed "Collector of Government Customs and Town Duties at Hooghly," and the Governor-General in Council was pleased "to annex to the above office the charge of the collection of the land and sayer revenue in the mehals at present under the Assistant Collector at Hooghly." Mr. Saunders' salary was sicca Rs. 800 per mensem, and he was "entitled to receive the same commission as is usually drawn by officers on the abkary and stamp receipts and on the collections from ferries." (2. V. 1-3-19.)

The river jurisdiction of the Judge and Magistrate was at this time from the Bali Khal to Gokulgunj, nearly opposite to Santipore. The desirablity of making the civil, criminal, and revenue jurisdiction conterminous was considered by the Governor-General in Council. The

difficulty in doing so arose from the disregard for a long series of years of the ancient local divisions of parganas, and the extraordinary manner in which the lands of most of the parganas were scattered and mixed up. Mundleghat is a noticeable instance of this. The Collector of Burdwan raised the question of the necessity of making a butwara of each estate borne on his rent-roll, which lay partly in his and partly in the Hooghly district; but this was not sanctioned, and the difficulty was got over by permitting the zemindars of such estates to pay their land revenue into either treasury at their option. (2. V. 19-11-19.)

The final orders of Government on the separation of the two Collectorates were not received until January 1821, and it was to take effect from 1st May 1822. The Collector of Hooghly was ordered to go to Burdwan and sort and bring away the records relating to his charge. If the zemindars of estates lying within each boundary did not make a final selection of the district into the treasury of which they would pay their revenue, the Collector was to choose for them. The land revenue of the new district was Rs. 11,23,474, and the stamp, abkari, and other revenue about Rs. 76,526, making in all twelve lakhs of sicca rupees, as against thirty lakhs which remained as the revenue of Burdwan and the Jungle Mehals. (7. V. 19-1-21.)

I should mention that previous to 1795 the town and parts of the district of Hooghly were within the jurisdiction of Nuddea. (5. V. 24-9-22.)

In 1824 the Magistrate complains of the want of a map of his district:—"The boundaries of the foreign settlements and suburbs of Calcutta are very indefinite, and lead to constant trouble." Howrah and Sulkea were then a part of Calcutta, and appear to have extended, as regards civil and criminal jurisdiction, right up to the Bali Khal. (30. V. 9-8-28.) The excise followed the land revenue jurisdiction until 1838, when it was made conterminous with the civil and criminal jurisdiction. (81. V. 1-11-38.) In 1826, on the people of thana Chunderkona representing the hardships they were put to in coming to Hooghly for criminal cases, the criminal jurisdiction was transferred to Midnapore, the revenue jurisdiction remaining with Hooghly. (17. V. 20-10-26.) In 1837 the Magistrate brought to the notice of Government the extremely inconvenient arrangement of the thana jurisdictions, which caused much hardship to the people. Thus Chanditolah was in thana Rajapore, nine miles off, instead of being in Bydyabati, which was quite close. Mellia, where there was an indigo-factory, was in thana Bydyabati, nine miles off, instead of being in Haripal, only one mile distant. The latter is described as having no villages to the east and west, but consisting of a long strip of country ten miles, to the north. These matters were gradually rectified. The separation of the magisterial jurisdiction of Howrah from that of Hooghly was carried out under Government orders No. 268, dated 27th February 1843. (163. V.). Thanas Ulubaria, Kotra (Shampore), Rajapore, and Bagnan were transferred to the 24-Parganas, and Mr. William Tayler, was appointed as Joint-Magistrate of Howrah with jurisdiction over Howrah and Sulkea. Some villages of Bydyabati thana were subsequently transferred in 1845. He was to have an allowance of Rs. 250 a month for establishment, and to hold

his cutchery in "the building now used by the Magistrate of the 24-Parganas." Mr. Tayler was succeeded in 1845 by Mr. G. F. Cockburn.

Early in 1845 the Government became fully alive to the necessity of establishing subdivisions for the better supervision of the police and convenience of the people, and before the close of that year, with which this narrative ends, Mr. L. S. Jackson had been stationed at Dwarhatta as subdivisional officer of the present Serampore subdivision. Babu Issar Chunder Ghosal, Deputy Magistrate, was sent in a like capacity to Keerpoy to take charge of the subdivision now called Jehanabad.

With the establishment of the subdivisional system a new era of government was begun; but to trace the improvements and progress which have been made since that time must be left to some future Collector of Hooghly.

The Moonsiffees in 1839 were (1) Hooghly, (2) Nauserai, (3) Mohanad, (4) Baidyabati, (5) Rajapore, (6) Dwarhatta, (7) Keerpoy, (8) Balli, and (9) Ulubaria.

The subjoined extract from the report of the "Indian Law Commissioners," dated 2nd July 1842, explains the various changes made in the jurisdiction of the various Courts, and will be found useful for reference:—

On the consolidation of the judicial system of Bengal in 1793, the administration of civil justice was vested in Zillah and City Courts having unlimited original jurisdiction; Provincial Courts of Appeal, and the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, the Company's highest Court of Appeal, consisting of the Governor-General and Members of Council.

The Zillah and City Judges were authorized to refer to their Registers suits for property not exceeding 200 rupees in value, but their decrees were not valid until countersigned by the Judges.

The only Native Courts which found a place in this system were those of certain functionaries styled Referees (Aumeens), Arbitrators (Salisan), and Moonsiffs, who were empowered to try, either immediately or by reference from the Zillah or City Judge, suits for personal property not exceeding 50 rupees in value.

These establishments were perhaps originally inadequate to the duties imposed upon them. However that may have been, it is certain that in process of time the increase of litigation, consequent on the general improvement of the country and the growing confidence in the judicial tribunals, rendered alterations in the system necessary; and as these causes continued to operate, various methods were from time to time resorted to to check the growing evil of overburthened Judicatories.

These remedial measures, as they affected the European Agency, consisted in removing the primary cognizance of the more valuable suits from the Zillah and City to the Superior Courts; in augmenting the number of Judges and increasing the powers of single Judges of those Courts; extending the judicial functions of the Registers; and appointing Assistant Judges to share the labours of the Zillah and City Judges.

But the limited number of Civil Servants at the disposal of the Government, and the heavy expense attending this description of Agency, presented serious obstacles to a general resort to it, whilst a

liberal policy pointed to a more extensive employment of the natives of the country as a means both of increasing the efficiency of the Courts and of improving the moral condition of the people.

The various changes in the civil branch of the judicial system from 1793 up to the present time may be thus briefly stated.

"Original suits exceeding 5,000 rupees in value were transferred from the Zillah to the Provincial Courts, though subsequently those between 5,000 and 10,000 rupees were allowed to be instituted in the Zillah or Provincial Court at the election of the plaintiffs.

"Original suits above 1,000 rupees were also made transferable from the Zillah to the Provincial Court at the discretion of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, which Court was further authorized to call up from the Provincial Courts any original suits of the value of 43,103 sicca rupees (the amount then limited for appeals to the King in Council) which they deemed could be more conveniently and expeditiously tried by themselves. This last-mentioned power, we understand, the Court never exercised.

"Each Judge of a Provincial Court sitting singly was empowered to perform a considerable part of the functions of the whole Court.

"In 1833 the Provincial Courts were abolished, and original suits above 5,000 rupees made cognizable in the Zillah Courts.

The rule which made the Zillah Judge's countersignature essential to the validity of his Register's decrees was repealed; the Register's powers were extended to suits of 500 rupees, and might be specially extended to suits of 5,000 or 10,000 rupees. The appointment of Additional Registers was provided for; and the services of the Registers of the Provincial Courts were made available for the trial of original suits.

The office of Register to the Provincial Courts was abolished in 1821, and that of Register to the Zillah Courts in 1831-2.

The office of Assistant Judge was instituted in 1803 for the purpose of relieving the Zillah Judges of any portion of their work which circumstances prevented their performing themselves. It was abolished in 1814, but has since been revived with the designation of Additional Judge.

Commissions to natives to act as referees and arbitrators were re-called, and the original jurisdiction of the Moonsiffs was successively extended, first to suits for personal property to the amount of 64 rupees—provided the cause of action had arisen within one year (in 1817, extended to 3 years) before the institution of the suit; next to similar suits not exceeding 150 rupees, and lastly to all descriptions of suits (except for lakhiraj lands) not exceeding 300 rupees in value, and subject only to the general rules of limitation for the institution of suits. At this point it now stands, but the Moonsiffs have not jurisdiction over British subjects, European foreigners, or Americans, excepting in suits relating to arrears or exactions of rent.

Sudder ameens were first appointed in 1803 for the trial, by reference from the Zillah Judge, of suits for real and personal property to the value of 100 rupees.

Their powers were afterwards enlarged to suits of 150 rupees, and in special cases, of 500 and 1,000 rupees. This last amount had since 1831 become the general standard.

Finally in 1831 the office of Principal Sudder Ameen was constituted for the trial, by reference from the Zillah Judge, of suits to the value of 5,000 rupees. Their jurisdiction now embraces causes of an unlimited amount; and the few original suits which remained to the Zillah Judges have thus been virtually transferred to the native functionaries. In a recent report on the subject of special appeals, we have recommended that all suits cognizable by the Principal Sudder Ameens and Sudder Ameens should be instituted immediately in the Courts of those officers.

It is unnecessary to detail the various changes which the system of appeals underwent during the period under review. It may be stated generally that previous to the year 1831 a regular appeal lay to the Zillah Judge from the decrees of all his subordinate Courts, and a special appeal to the Provincial Court. And when such first appeals were tried by the Register or Sudder Ameen, a special appeal lay to the Zillah Judge. From the Zillah Judge's decrees in original suits an appeal lay to the Provincial Court and a special appeal to the Sudder Dewany Adawlut. From the decrees of the Provincial Courts in original suits an appeal lay to the Sudder.

Under the present system the decrees of Moonsiffs and Sudder Ameens are appealable to the Zillah Judge, whose decisions thereon are conclusive. But the Sudder Court may authorise the reference of any such appeals to the Principal Sudder Ameen, from whose decisions thereon a special appeal lies to the Zillah Judge.

From the Principal Sudder Ameen's decrees in original suits not exceeding 5,000 rupees in amount an appeal lies to the Zillah Judge and a special appeal to the Sudder Dewany Adawlut. From the decrees of the Zillah Judges in any original suits which for special reasons they may have retained on their own files, and from the decrees of the Principal Sudder Ameens in original suits exceeding 5,000 rupees, a regular appeal lies to the Sudder Court.

The salary of the Zillah Judges is 2,500 rupees per mensem. or 30,000 per annum. and that of an Additional Judge rupees 2,166-10-8 per mensem, or 26,000 per annum. Principal Sudder Ameens of the first grade receive 600 rupees, those of the second grade 400 rupees per mensem. The Sudder Ameens have 250 rupees per mensem. Moonsiffs of the first grade receive 150 rupees, those of the second grade 100 rupees per mensem.

The system of criminal judicature established in 1793 has, like that for the administration of civil justice, undergone extensive alterations.

Originally the Zillah and City Magistrates had judicial cognizance of petty offences only, which they were competent to punish with 15 days' imprisonment or fine not exceeding Rs. 50, except in the cases of certain descriptions of landholders, when the fine might be increased to Rs. 200.

For petty thefts they could award corporal punishment or one month's imprisonment.*

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* Corporal punishment was abolished in 1834, and the undermentioned additional periods of imprisonment substituted, in sentences passed by—

The Nizamut Adawlut and Session Courts	... 2 years.
Magistrates and Joint-Magistrates	... 1 year.
Assistants, Principal Sudder Ameens, and Sudder Ameens	... 1 month.

This change is to be attended to in the perusal of what follows.

All other trials were disposed of by the Courts of Circuit and the Nizamut Adawlut.

The first enlargement of the Magistrate's power extended to sentences of imprisonment not exceeding six months, with corporal punishment in cases of theft, and in other cases with fine not exceeding Rs. 200, commutable if not paid to a further imprisonment not exceeding six months.

Subsequently they were empowered to pass sentence of two years' imprisonment with corporal punishment on persons convicted before them of aggravated thefts, simple burglaries, or receiving stolen property; to which cases of conviction of two or more thefts were afterwards added; and lastly, they were empowered to sentence to one year's imprisonment and Rs. 200 fine, commutable if not paid to a further imprisonment of one year, persons convicted of affrays unattended with certain circumstances of aggravation. By some recent Acts certain specific offences have also been made cognizable by the Magistrates, to some of which punishments are affixed exceeding the usual jurisdiction of these officers.*

According to the original plan the Zillah Judges were likewise Magistrates, but in 1810 the separation of the two offices was legalised, and at the same time the offices of Assistant Magistrate and Joint-Magistrate were constituted, with the same judicial powers as belonged to the Magistrate; but the former office has been discontinued. The offices of Magistrate and Joint-Magistrate are now held by Collectors and Deputy Collectors, or the former are held as distinct appointments in the Lower Provinces.

To afford relief to the Magistrates they were authorised to refer for trial to their Assistants such petty offences as were originally within their own judicial cognizance.

Subsequently the Assistants were empowered to adjudge both fine and imprisonment, commuting the fine if not paid to an additional imprisonment of 15 days; and in cases of theft both corporal punishment and imprisonment.

And eventually the Government were authorised to invest an Assistant with special power to pass sentence of imprisonment not exceeding six months with a fine of Rs. 200, commutable to a further imprisonment of six months: and in cases of theft to six months' imprisonment and corporal punishment. At the same time the Magistrates were authorised to refer to the Hindu and Mahomedan Law Officers and Sudder Ameens of the Zillah Courts trials for offences not requiring a severer punishment than 15 days' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 50, commutable if not paid to a further imprisonment of 15 days; and in cases of theft one month's imprisonment and corporal punishment. This rule was made applicable also to Principal Sudder Ameens.

The Judges of the Provincial Courts were also Judges of the Courts of Circuit. The jurisdiction of these Courts was eventually extended; in ordinary cases, to sentences of imprisonment for seven years, with corporal punishment for certain descriptions of offences; in

* See the Post Office Act No. XVII of 1837, and the Act respecting the exportation of warlike stores, No. XVIII of 1841.

cases of robbery by open violence unattended with certain circumstances of aggravation and in aggravated cases of theft, burglary, and receiving stolen property, to 14 years' imprisonment with corporal punishment; in cases of wounding with intent to murder, to 14 years' imprisonment.

These Courts had also the power of imposing fines, fixing a specific period of imprisonment in default of payment.

To increase the efficiency of the Courts of Circuit for the despatch of current and appeal business, single Judges of the Court were invested with similar powers to those conferred upon them in their civil capacity.

All trials in which the Judge of Circuit differed from his Mahommedan Law Officer regarding the guilt or innocence of a prisoner, and all trials in which the offence proved required a severer punishment than the Circuit Court was competent to award, were referred for the determination of the Nizamut Adawlut

In 1829 the Courts of Circuit were abolished, and their duties were transferred to Commissioners of Circuit, who were likewise Commissioners of Revenue. But this plan was found to impose too onerous duties on the Commissioners, and since 1832 the Zillah Judges, in the capacity of Sessions Judges, have, with few exceptions, discharged the functions of the former Courts of Circuit.

Formerly the course of appeal in criminal cases was from the Assistants, Principal Sudder Ameens, Sudder Ameens, and Law Officers, to the Magistrate or Joint-Magistrate; and from the orders of the latter officers, to the Courts of Circuit or Session, with a further appeal to the Nizamut Adawlut.

The system of criminal appeals has been lately revised, and the following are the rules now in force:—

From the sentences and orders of Assistants, Principal Sudder Ameens, Sudder Ameens, and Law Officers, one appeal lies to the Magistrate or Joint-Magistrate.

From those of Magistrates, and Joint-Magistrates. and Assistants vested with special powers (except in certain minor cases), one appeal lies to the Session Judge. And from sentences or orders passed in criminal trials by the Session Judges, one appeal lies to the Nizamut Adawlut.

The decisions of the appellate authorities on such appeals are final, except that a power is vested in the Nizamut Adawlut to call for the records of any criminal trials of any subordinate Court and pass orders thereon. But no superior Court has power to enhance any punishment awarded, or to punish any person acquitted by the Court below.

CENSUS—AREA—POPULATION.

The only systematic attempt between 1795 and 1845 to "number the people" was made by the Magistrate of Hooghly in 1837. The procedure adopted by him was to send out blank forms to gomashtas, village headmen, and zemindars, with orders to fill in and return them. On receipt the papers were made over to the police darogahs for check and scrutiny. The result is shown on the next page, and I have added

columns to show in juxta-position the results of the more scientific census of 1872 and 1881. A comparison of these figures is for statistical purposes vitiated by the frequent changes which have since taken place in the thana jurisdictions, but they are nevertheless curious and interesting. The Magistrate supported his figures very strongly, and considered them to be "as nearly accurate as any return of the kind can be made in India." The result showed a population of 601 to the square mile. The Law Commissioners considered even an estimate of 512 to be excessive. The Magistrate has to admit that the figure for the area is not reliable. He states that the Prison Discipline Committee, with an estimated area of 2,260 square miles, had shown a population of 1,239,150, or 548 to the square mile; while Hamilton's estimate for Burdwan, including Hooghly, was 600, and that the population of Hooghly was "infinitely more dense than that of Burdwan. The number of villages (in Hooghly) infinitely exceeds anything I have witnessed in other parts of Bengal." (177. V. 15-6-38.) He does not appear to have made any attempt to ascertain the proportion of Hindoos to Mahomedans, but states generally that where the aymah tenures chiefly prevail (as in Pandua) the latter exceed the former in numbers. In 1843 I find the population estimated (without any details) at 2 millions, and the area at 2,500 square miles, with 4,200 villages. This gives 800 to the square mile, and is apparently a more correct estimate than the other. If these figures serve no other useful purpose, they at least show how hopelessly wrong a census may be which is not conducted on modern methods, and how heavily handicapped the early district officers were by the entire absence of accurate statistical information.

Statement of Area and Population.

Names of Thanas in 1837.	Area in square miles.			Population at the census of			Remarks.
	1837.	1872.	1881.	1837.	1872.	1881.	
1. Hooghly ...	99	62	39	70,025	67,538	56,425	
2. Bansberia (*a*)	48	47	80	30,057	41,309	43,924	(*a*) Now an outpost of Hooghly thana.
3. Benipur (*b*) ...	144	91	86	60,819	60,955	48,218	(*b*) Now Balagarh.
4. Pandua ...	220	115	111	106,324	77,132	66,113	
5. Dhaniakhali ...	208	121	135	135,857	116,501	93,537	
6. Haripal ..	77	138	115	72,673	111,689	84,943	
7. Bydyabati (*c*)	216	63	71	131,901	80,291	59,184	(*c*) Now Singoor.
8. Rajapur (*d*) ...	192	76	73	135,252	80,243	77,559	(*d*) Now Jagatbullabpur.
9. Rajbalhat (*e*)...	242	71	63	157,708	69,280	55,107	(*e*) Now Kistanagar.
10. Ampta ...	112	101	103	58,564	110,374	109,968	
11. Jehanabad ...	134	143	147	120,494	123,069	110,412	
12. Bagnan ...	105	(*l*)	56	21,394	58,098	63,563	
13. Dewangunj (*f*)	144	143	146	88,604	136,246	111,121	(*f*) Now Goghat.
14. Ghattal (*g*) ...	142	91	92	102,003	102,742	84,003	(*g*) Now in Midnapore.
15. Chunderconah (*h*).	48	121	121	101,710	106,480	87,971	(*h*) Ditto.
16. Ulubaria ...	176	136	77	83,994	69,906	81,345	
17. Kotra (*j*) ...	200	87	67	21,394	60,423	68,861	(*j*) Now at Shampur.
18. Chinsurah (*k*)	2	...	..	10,070	.....	.....	(*k*) Now an outpost of Hooghly thana.
Total ...	2,509	1,605	1,573	1,508,843	1,478,476	13,02,814	(*l*) Included in Ulubaria.
Population to square mile.	601	921	828				

Note.—Howrah and Sulkea are excluded from the above table, as they were in 1837 in the 24-Pergunnahs.

CHAPTER III.

THE CRIMINAL ADMINISTRATION.

CRIME—THE POLICE—THE VILLAGE WATCH—JAIL.

CRIME.

THE history of the crime of the Hooghly district between 1795 and 1845 is practically a history of dacoity. Other heinous crimes were no doubt committed but the one crime with which the old records ring without changing is that of gang robbery. Before referring to the statistics of crime given in appendices E to J, I shall endeavour to give a picture of the state of the district and of the terrorism to which it was subject from the ravages of dacoits. Mr. Secretary Dowdeswell, writing in 1809, bears the following testimony to the state of the district in that year :—" Were I to enumerate only a thousandth part of the atrocities of the dacoits and of the consequent sufferings of the people, and were I to soften that recital in every mode which language would permit, I should still depair of obtaining credit. Robbery, and even murder itself, are not the worst features in this hideous and disgusting picture. An expedient of common occurrence with the dacoits merely to induce a confession of property supposed to be concealed is to burn the proprietor with straw or torches until he discloses the property or perishes in the flames. Volumes might be filled with the recital of the atrocities of the dacoits, every line of which would make the blood run cold with horror. These enormities, be it remembered, are still committed with impunity in the immediate vicinity of the capital of British India."

During special inquiries in the thana of Benipur (now Balagarh) in 13 months of the years 1808-1809, it was found that no less than 104 houses had been robbed, and that during their operations the dacoits murdered five, tortured three, and wounded eight persons. Only 33 of these cases had been reported by the darogah. When the Superintendent of Police devoted his special attention to the Hooghly district, the gangs of dacoits slipped away into the neighbouring districts of Nuddea, Burdwan, or Calcutta. The existence of the foreign settlements also greatly facilitated their escape. The Governor-General, in a despatch to the Court of Directors in May 1810, says:—"The evidence lately adduced, exclusive of a multiplicity of other proofs, establishes beyond a question the commission of robberies, murder, and the most atrocious deliberate cruelties : in a word, an aggregate of the most atrocious crimes committed with few exceptions in every part of Bengal." The remedy which the Government applied to this terrible state of affairs was the appointment of a Superintendent of Police to hunt down the gangs by means of *goindahs*. That it had considerable effect is clear from the figures given in Appendix F. While there were 38 *reported* dacoities in 1804, there were only 13 in 1815, the average for the 12 years being 48. (The Superintendent of Police in 1814 says that dacoity is

more prevalent in Hooghly than in any other district of the Calcutta Division.) From 1826 to 1834 this average is reduced to 8; from 1838 to 1842 it had risen to 18; while for the years 1843 to 1853 it rose as high as 111. 1854 shows 68 cases as against 120 of the previous year, while 1855 has only 14, and from this time the crime was almost stamped out by the operations of the Dacoity Commissioner, whose head-quarters in Hooghly were the present circuit-house. Of other crimes the Judges of the Court of Circuit notice in 1814 the great prevalence of false cases, which they include under the head of conspiracy. Affrays were not apparently very common. Although the zemindars kept large bodies of *lattials*, they used them chiefly as *nugdis* for collecting rents, and they had to register them in the Magistrate's office under Regulation V of 1812. The indigo-planters are spoken of as a peaceable and well-disposed class.

Cases of robbery and thuggee were not altogether absent, and in this respect the Tribeni to Guptipara Road has a very unenviable notoriety. We are told by the Magistrate in 1837 that both it and the river route to Moorshedabad were regarded by the natives as dangerous in the extreme, and that the former could only be travelled by day and in parties of seven or eight. In 1840 the Grand Trunk Road between Hooghly and Magra was so unsafe that the Magistrate sent a European head-constable with four burkundazes to patrol it. Even Europeans were often attacked with impunity, and a curious case of this kind occurred in 1845. Ensign Spiller of the 53rd Regiment, which he was joining by river, was attacked by the crew of his beauleah, who, after robbing him, attempted to hang him up to the mast, and failing in this endeavour, threw him overboard. He escaped with his life and reached Chinsurah, but I cannot discover whether or not the perpetrators of this outrage were punished. All officers were agreed as to the causes of this state of affairs, which were: (1) the facilities afforded for the escape of criminals by the river system and the foreign settlements; (2) the leniency of sentences passed on convicts; (3) the large area of the thanas, their small staff, and its utter corruption and inefficiency; (4) the disorganisation of the village police, its complete subordination to the zemindars, and its collusion and co-operation with criminals; (5) the timidity and apathy of the people, who made no attempt to resist or follow up the dacoits. (167. V. 3-9-30.) It is curious, when viewed by the light of more recent experience, to find the Magistrate recommending the trial of dacoits by jury as one of the principal remedies. His argument hardly appeals either to our modern notions of justice or to our experience of the actual results of trial by jury. He says that the evidence in such cases is often so deficient and contradictory that, although he may believe the accused to be guilty, a Judge sitting alone will not take upon his conscience the heavy responsibility of convicting, but he thinks that the jury as a body would willingly do so. An analysis of Appendix G shows the following *average* yearly results of heinous cases for the period therein given. In 870 cases 2,162 persons were concerned, of whom 2,093 were apprehended, 986 convicted, and 1,107 acquitted. In a letter, dated 1836, I find some curious particulars of convictions for "contempt of court," which seems to have been made into a sort of reserve section of the law to cover all offences not

otherwise provided with a specific punishment. Among others are the following "contempts":—

(1) Cutting a tree on the public road.
(2) (Jail moodie) giving pice to the prisoners instead of rations.
(3) Jail burkundaz) allowing prisoners at work on the road to buy food.
(4) (Mohurir) neglecting to send a return which had been called for.
(5) Throwing filth near the gate of the cutcherry.
(6) Not giving assistance to troops on the march.
(7) Being drunk and disorderly at night.

The total amount of criminal fines realised between 1795 and 1838 (inclusive) was Rs 1,43,360, of which Rs. 10,681 was refunded.

The Magistrate appears to have had quite as much work as he could get through, even without any revenue duties. In 1841 Mr. Wauchope says that hearing cases took him six hours every day, besides having to visit the jail, do miscellaneous work, and hear police reports. One of the latter is described as being 150 pages long, and as taking several hours to read through. The Assistant Magistrate seems to have done little more than sign *roobkaris* and other papers. To teach him his work, the Magistrate used to make him over completed criminal records after withdrawing the finding, judgment, and sentence. After going through all the papers, he gave his decision, and then compared it with that of the Magistrate.

SUTTEE.

A few words on this subject will not be out of place in this chapter, and will perhaps serve to remind our native fellow subjects of the Queen-Empress that though no practice so barbarous and revolting exists among the Hindu customs of the present day, the moral and physical blots of child-marriage and the harsh treatment of widows remain unremedied. The Magistrate of Hooghly writing in 1818 speaks of the increasing practice of suttee as not in any way due to the "fatal epidemic which had visited the district for the last two years but to the change of police procedure regarding it." Before 1813 he says the police were not allowed to interfere in any way, but in 1818 they were instructed to see "that the ceremony was performed in conformity with the rules of the Shashtras, and in that event (only) to allow its completion." The people naturally looked upon the presence and superintendence of the police as a sign of the approval of the custom by Government. The practice of suttee was, the Magistrate says, confined chiefly to the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta:—"It is notorious that the natives of Calcutta and its vicinity exceed all others in profligacy and immorality, and we find the Hindu superstition in its most degraded and darkest state in the very part of our empire where the influence of our manners must be first felt. The worship of Kali is modern, and chiefly indulged in by Calcutta people. By such men a suttee is regarded, not as a religious act, but as a choice

entertainment. Suttee is not known in Behar. A law for its abolition would only be objected to by the heirs, who derive worldly profit from the custom; by Brahmins, who partly exist by it; and by those whose depraved natures lead them to look on so horrid a sacrifice as a highly agreeable and entertaining show"

The practice was abolished in 1829 by Regulation XVII of that year, but before that law came into force, *i.e.*, between the years 1815 and 1829, the records show that no less than *thirteen hundred and ninety-eight* widows sacrified themselves on the funeral pile in the Hooghly district alone. Probably many more cases were not reported.

From January 1830 there are constant reports of the prevention of suttee by the police, and they most of them conform to the stereotyped specimen given below:—

"I" (the darogah) "effectually and without disturbance restrained the woman from her purpose and gave her into the charge of the gomashta and mandal. For two days she refused food and declared she would die by starvation. Her resolution failed her on the third day, and she has since been perfectly contented."

CRIMINAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

The cost of the magisterial establishments as they stood on the 1st January 1838 is given below:—

	Rs.	
Magistrate's office	503	
Balagusti guard	127	
3 guard boats	120	
Mofussil police	2,101	
Jail establishment	124	
1 Buxi for chaukidari-tax	20	
2 European constables at Chinsurah ...	140	
Town police	338	
Scavengering department	70	
Total ...	3,543	× 12 = 42,516
1 Magistrate at Rs. 1,000 } 1 Assistant at „ 400 }		× 12 = 16,800
Contingencies and repairs		... 1,412
18 thanas (with Rs. 1,080 for contingencies) ...		... 28,908
Annual Total Rs.		89,636

THE POLICE.

Under the Mahomedan Government the zemindar—or if the land was farmed, the farmer—was entrusted with the duty of keeping the peace within his zemindari. He was not, as he is now, a mere Government agent for the collection of rents and payment of revenue. He was bound to apprehend murderers, robbers, &c., and if he failed to do so or to recover the stolen property, he was answerable to the owner thereof for its value. The few of these responsibilities that still remain to him are defined in the Code of Criminal Procedure, the Penal Code, and in section 21, Regulation XX of 1817. As subordinate police-

officers, he had under him the pausbans or village chaukidars and the pharidars peons, pikes, *et hic omne genus*, the origin and history of whom are well and clearly described in the *Report on the Village Watch in Lower Bengal*, prepared by the late Mr. D. J. McNeile, C.S., in 1866.

On our assumption of the Dewani in 1765, this organisation had fallen into a state of complete disruption and decay, and it was not thought fit to revive it. Regulation XII of 1793 withdrew the powers and responsibilities (except in the way of affording information and assistance) of the zemindar, and vested them in the police darogahs and in the burkundazes and village police under them. Each darogah had in theory a jurisdiction of 20 square miles: he was allowed Rs. 10 for every dacoit convicted through his exertions, and 10 per cent. on the value of the stolen property recovered if the thief were apprehended. This arrangement continued until 1807, when, owing to the continued prevalence of dacoity or gang robbery, Lord Cornwallis, by Regulation XII of that year, introduced the system of appointing zemindars, tahsildars, and farmers as police *ameens* or assistants to the darogahs, and with concurrent jurisdiction. The principle of thus recognising local influence, knowledge, and responsibility was no doubt a good one, but in *practice*, owing to the complete disorganisation of the land revenue system by the sale and resumption laws, it was found unworkable. Owing to the success of the special deputation of Mr. Blacquiere to Hooghly and its surrounding districts with a view of breaking up the gangs of dacoits by means of *goindahs* or informers, the office of Superintendent of Police was created by Regulation IX of 1808. This office was abolished by Regulation I of 1829, the duties being made over to the Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit, but was soon afterwards again revived under a new name—that of Dacoity Commissioner. Against the system of employing *goindahs*, Mr. Ernst, who was Magistrate of Hooghly in 1809, entered a vigorous protest, but he was overruled. The employment as police ameens of zemindars and others was not found to work well, and was abolished. The police arrangements were slightly modified and consolidated by Regulation XX of 1817, and continued to work under that law up to and beyond the year 1845, when this history ends. The oppressions of the darogahs and their subordinates are still a tradition of this district, and beside them the complaints against the police of these modern days sink into comparative insignificance. In 1812 these darogahs are described as being not less corrupt than their predecessors, the thanadars, with as much inclination to do evil and less ability to do good, owing to the size of the thana jurisdictions, difficulty of communications, and consequent want of local knowledge. They had none of that influence over the village watch which the zemindars had and still have. Viewed with fear by some and with jealousy by others, the people as a rule kept entirely aloof from them. Under this state of affairs, the darogahs relied chiefly upon the staff of *goindahs*, who attached themselves to every thana to share in the head-money for the capture of dacoits allowed by the Regulation of 1792, and often to share also the percentage allowed for the recovery of property, which perhaps they themselves had actively assisted in stealing. More feared even than the *goindahs* were the *girdwars*, or parties, who, under a plausible pretext of being able to arrest an absconded offender or notorious dacoit, were

furnished by Magistrates with warrants of arrest. They were even made use of as public prosecutors. A book was kept in which their names were recorded as *umedwars* for vacancies as burkundazes, and from this list appointments were made. Both these classes were a source of greater terror to the innocent than to the guilty, and the extortion and oppression exercised by them can better be imagined than described in words. The Judge on circuit in 1802 thus describes the police darogah:—"Generally unfit, possessing no spirit, vigour or address: he is a stranger too, not interested or possessing property in the district. He is often negligent and corrupt: sometimes little respected, being ill-paid and unable to maintain any dignity of character. His only care is to make a show of vigilance and activity lest he should create displeasure in the Magistrate." The powers of the darogahs are described by Mr. Secretary Dowdeswell in 1809 as "of almost equal extent with those of a Justice of the Peace under our laws, which have never been confided to any subordinate police-officers in England, and which indeed would not be tolerated for a moment in that country." In addition to the powers now possessed by sub-inspectors in charge of police-stations, the darogahs were empowered to receive complaints on oath, to decide whether summons or warrants should issue, and to refer to the Magistrate the question of bail. It is on record that the darogah of Rajbalhat kept some prisoners more than *two months* before sending them to the Magistrate for trial. They knew no other law than their own will. They were kept in order only by the fear of dismissal and the consequent loss of appointment. In his report on the crime of the Hooghly district in 1814, after alluding to the "baneful intrigues and general corruption of the darogahs," the Magistrate says:—"They feel a pleasure in hearing of the commission of a dacoity . . . They proceed to the spot on the pretext of making inquiry into the circumstances . . . They summon every respectable inhabitant, and form fictitious tales of discovery for no other purposes than those of oppression and extortion; or, in other words, to ransack people's houses and to collect money from them as the price of their exemption from being sent to give testimony before the courts" Another favourite means of extortion was to arrest the females of accused persons as accomplices, and not to release them unless a confession had been made or a bribe given. These females were sometimes subjected to personal indignities and violence. One of the chief difficulties Magistrates had to deal with was "the aversion which people of all ranks uniformly manifest to come forward as public prosecutors through fear of future danger and the disgrace which unfortunately attaches in their ideas to a personal appearance in a court of justice." The Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces, when inspecting the Magistrate's office in 1814, cites an instance of an unfortunate man who, after being robbed by dacoits, was fined and imprisoned for not reporting the case at the thana, "urging, what we all know to be the case, viz. that it is infinitely preferable to abide by the first loss than to be subjected to the inconvenience and expense attending a prosecution." He also speaks of the practice of the Magistrate of Hooghly of having police reports read out in open Court as a bad one, as the mukhtars of the zemindars immediately sent off such information to them, as enabled them if they wished, to screen offenders. All the officers of the early period of our rule

looked upon the smaller zemindars as instigators of crime and receivers of stolen property in collusion with their creatures, the chaukidars, and not seldom with the darogahs themselves. The records teem with letters and proceedings regarding the dismissal of these latter officers from their posts and their appeals to the Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces. The Magistrate in 1835 says he has had to dismiss at least half of those in the Hooghly district. Thirteen out of eighteen darogahs were dismissed in 1837: four for neglect of duty, one for extorting a confession, five for concealing crime, and three for bribery. I find one Magistrate, however, taking a somewhat different view. He says:—"It seems to be the custom to take most particular notice of every error, however slight, and to bestow censure and punishment on the police on every possible occasion, but to consider zeal and activity as a simple part of their duty, which is passed over with at most an approving word." He mentions one case in which he went all the way to Jehanabad—no easy journey in those days—to enquire personally into two heavy dacoities, but that when he got there the darogah and talukdar "had so tutored and intimidated the complainant that he would say nothing." (174. V. 14-1-35.) As throwing some light on the state of the Hooghly police in 1841, I give here a letter which appeared in the *Englishman* in that year, and which is the first instance, so far as I can find, of resort to that mode of redress. The Magistrate was very indignant because the Superintendent of Police called for an inquiry and report on it. It does not appear whether the name over which it appeared was real or fictitious, but the letter was not, at any rate, anonymous, and that Magistrate would rise from his grave if he could see the attacks upon Government officers by the native press in the year of grace 1888:—

"DOINGS AT HOOGHLY."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ENGLISHMAN."

"SIR,—I have a strange lamentable tale to unfold, which if worthy of insertion, and calculated to excite the public interest, inasmuch as it embodies an instance of gross injustice and inhumanity, though crude be the language in which it is addressed, you will oblige me by giving it a place in one of the corners of your valuable and widely circulated journal, always ready to espouse the cause of the weak and defenceless.

I have kept for a considerable period a cloth-shop at Bara Bazar, in the town of Calcutta. Having purchased two bales of cloth at Chunderkona, I was coming my way, and had proceeded as far as Berhampore or Bushuntpore (whichever it may be called), when the mohurir of thana Jehanabad, within the jurisdiction of zillah Hooghly, seized my property and took out 4 pairs of *dhooties*, the prime cost of which was Rs. 14, and offered me only 10 rupees. On expressing unwillingness to dispose of my property at such a losing rate, he began to pour forth a volley of abuses on my head; but poor me, I still persisted in my unwillingness, which displeased the police-officer to such a pitch, that he tied fast both my hands, alleging that I was a thief. Mr. Editor, what could a poor man as myself, at a place where he expected no friendly aid, do under such a distress but consent? I did therefore,

but very reluctantly, consent. The mohurir then placed 10 rupees in the hands of Joykisto Tewaree and Saumloll Pauré, his under-burkundazes, with directions to give the same to me. Joykisto and Saumloll appropriated 2 rupees for their own use out of the sum deposited in their charge, and gave me the remainder 8 rupees and released me from imprisonment. Having but just received a severe and harsh treatment at the hands of the mohurir, and fearing the consequences of a remonstrance with the burkundazes, I uttered not a single word, but quickly despatched my bales of cloth to my shop and took my way towards Hooghly, with an intention of laying this case of gross injustice and inhumanity before the Magistrate for redress. I reached Hooghly in the evening, and having on the following day betaken myself to bathe in the Ganges, I saw at a little distance, by the sides of two ghàts close to each other, several individuals flocked together I drew nearer, and on inquiry into the reason found that the complainant as well as the defendant in a case of common affray before the Magistrate of Hooghly were offering up devotions to the sacred Gunga. This not a little amazed me, as it was inconsistent with the usual custom amongst the natives of the victorious party only expressing joyous feelings by prayers, &c. I therefore came up to one of the parties, and on asking the reason learnt that he was the complainant, engaged in devotions and rejoicings, not for obtaining his case, as may naturally be supposed, but because he has just got himself free after a troublesome attendance before the Magistrate's court for the period of eleven months with his witnesses, and was at the point of going homeward joining his business. which has suffered most materially and is almost destroyed from his long absence. Alas! observed the complainant, could he have known that such and so ruinous were to be the consequences of filing a plaint before a tribunal, constituted for the express purpose of giving redress, he would never have made up his mind to it. I waited no longer, but instantly stepped forward towards the other party, who on request stated that they were the defendants, and although each of them was fined a few rupees, were not sorry on that account; but that they had at last been released, after a vexatious attendance on the Magistrate with their respective witnesses for eight months, and will now be able to proceed to their home and join their business, already ruined from their long absence, is what they consider a matter of rejoicing, and were therefore offering up their prayers to Gunga. Why did you not, said I, appear yourselves by mooktear instead of attending in person and thereby causing ruin of your affairs? They did present a mooktearnamah, was the quick reply, but as the Magistrate rejected the same and demanded their personal attendance, they were obliged very reluctantly to appear, for they were afraid of falling a sacrifice to the new edict passed by that officer, purporting that in case of non-appearance of any party on being summoned, he was to be taken for and considered as a felon, his name put down in *Furahree Buhee*, and sent round with perwanahs to the different thanas for his arrest. The police-officers, under such a plausible pretence, would give him every sort of annoyance, disgrace him, and extort money from him. If, on the other hand, he makes his appearance on a summons, he would meet with a more serious punishment than the merits of his case deserve, insomuch that he would rather prefer the disgrace of having his name put down in the *Fahrahree*

Buhee, or book already alluded to, and abscond himself and family, than by appearance subject himself to the said punishment; thus it is that 350 men, all inhabitants of Hooghly, have left their homes along with their families, and are at this moment wandering from place to place Another consequence worthy of observation attending the Magistrate's *New Edict* is that many dishonest persons, with a view to ruin honest ones through the machinery of the said edict, have preferred, and are to this day preferring, false complaints before the Magistrate.

Having now heard. with attention and astonishment, the whole story as related above, from the complainant and defendant respectively, it occurred to me that being a petty merchant, and depending solely for livelihood on merchandise, it would entirely ruin me were I to spend a useless and extraordinary length of time in attendance upon the Magistrate of Hooghly, by preferring a complaint against the mohurir of thana Jahanabad and his myrmidon burkundazes Joykisto Tewaree and Saumlall Pauré for their barbarous and extortive conduct towards me. I have therefore refrained from filing a plaint before a tribunal where even victory is worse than defeat, for the vexatious delay and ruinous attendance consequent upon the final decision of a case, but have thought proper to bring the preceding grievances to the knowledge of Government through the medium of the press, with a full confidence that they will take them into their serious consideration and offer such remedy as they deserve. I am also confident that you, Mr. Editor, who are never without your aid when an injustice is complained of, will not in this instance withhold such pointed observations as would urge Government to a speedy redress; nor do I doubt that your worthy contemporaries will fail to follow your worthy example.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) Brojomohun Doss,

An inhabitant of Burra Bazar, in the Town of Calcutta.

Calcutta,
February 10, 1841."

The greatest blot on the police system of 1795 to 1845 was undoubtedly the subordination of the village watch to the zemindars and the concurrent withdrawal of all real responsibility from the latter. This blot has not even yet been removed: we have retained the village watch much as we found it, and tried in vain to adapt it to an entirely different system,—to put, in fact, old wine into new bottles. The appointment of the Police Committee of 1838 was the first sign that the Government was fully alive to the necessity of some radical changes and reform. Some serious disburbances in the Saugor district had lead Government to the conclusion that the police organisation should partake of a more military character (190. V. 10-6-42), and that the pay and general character of the force should be raised. The burkundazes, who were subsequently replaced by constables, are described by the Magistrate in 1837 "as a heterogenous body of men, clothed in all the different colours of the rainbow."[1] (177. V. 27-7-37). In their despatch No. 20 of

1844, the Directors accepted the principal recommendations of the Police Committee, which were as under (190. V. 4-3-45 ; G. O. 412) :—

1. The improvement of the condition of the village watch.
2. The salaries of the darogahs to be raised to Rs. 50, Rs. 75, and Rs. 100 in three grades. They were at the same time to be treated considerately, and not fined and removed capriciously.
3. The proceedings of the police and of Magistrates to be shortened and simplified.
4. Assistant and Deputy Magistrates to be placed in charge of convenient circles of police. (The origin of the present subdivisional system.)
5. The appointment of a military officer to drill and superintend the police of each district. (Hence the term "Major Saheb" or "Kaptan Saheb" still applied by the people generally to denote District Superintendents of Police and Executive Engineers.)

Before concluding the subject of the regular police, I may mention the *Balagustee* and *River* branches of that service, and the *ghutty ghars* or guard-houses. The first was a special force very similar to the present circle police, paid from the proceeds of resumed pharidari lands. It was first established in 1827, and was employed in serving summons and other processes free of cost. The Magistrate used also to send it out to any tract where there was any specially bad outbreak of crime or violence. It was abolished in 1837.

The river police, as their name implies, were entertained for the purpose of patrolling the river in three beats between Gokulganj and Balikhal. Three boats hired at Rs. 3 each per mensem were first engaged in 1807, but were abolished in 1814, and again re-established on the Magistrate finding that river dacoities were on the increase. A fourth was subsequently entertained to ply between Fort Mornington and the Selye river. (177. V. 26-2-38.) In each boat were one jemadar and two burkundazes, equipped with two swords, one musket, and a drum. Mr. Wauchope, who was Magistrate in 1845, proposed to replace these boats by three swift-pulling boats specially built for the purpose. He says that the commonest dinghy could beat them in speed, and that they were a source of oppression and extortion, and levied tolls and blackmail. Of the arms he says the drum was the most effective of all. He proposed to abolish the river burkundazes and to arm the *dandis* with spears. The only police boats now employed on the river are those kept for the prevention of opium-smuggling.

Another institution which has disappeared was that of *ghutty ghars'* chaukis, or watch-houses. When Mr. D. C. Smyth was Magistrate in 1829, he ordered the zemindars to build such houses at convenient spots, so that bad characters who were under the supervision of the police might be shut up in them at night. In 1839 the "Landholders' Society," established, I believe, by the late Baboo Joy Kissen Mookerjee, and the parent of the "British India Association," complained to Government that they were made to repair and keep up these houses. The Magistrate defended the existing custom as expedient if not legal, and said that it was still in force and with good results. No new ones

had been built since Mr. Smyth's time, but the repairs of those which then existed cost each large zemindar from Rs. 200 to Rs. 250 a year. (180. V. 12-12-39.) They appear after this to have been allowed to fall into disuse and disrepair

Regulation XXIII of 1793 imposed a police-tax on traders and merchants, but it led to so many abuses that it was abolished by Regulation VI of 1797. The amount assessed in the Hooghly district was Rs. 23,700 and Rs. 1,185 for contingencies,—total Rs. 24,885.

THE VILLAGE WATCH.

The early history and origin of the village watch in Bengal (and especially in the Burdwan Raj) was so fully and accurately described by the late Mr. D. J. McNeile, C.S., in 1866, that it is only necessary to refer to his admirable report those who wish to study the subject further. I shall content myself in these pages with describing the village chaukidar in the words of the early Magistrates themselves. Mr. Thomas Brooke, Magistrate of Hooghly in 1799, says :—"Long experience of the character of the village pykes shows that they are themselves the robbers, and that no robbery can be committed without their collusion or connivance, nor can anything deter them from crimes to which they are driven by their necessities. The number of pykes in the zillah of Hooghly is stated at 10,560; of these only 1,805 are foujdary pykes, whose duties are confined exclusively to foujdary work. The remainder are styled *grám saranjami* pykes, who are employed by the zemindars or their agents in collecting the rents from the ryots, guarding the mofussil treasuries, conveying the revenue to the sudder stations, watching the crops of the ryots, serving as guides, *and sometimes assisting the foujdary pykes.* For the subsistence of the whole body 85,736 beeghas of land are said to be set apart."

Mr. McNeile's report clearly shows how under the general modern designation of *chaukidar* the various kinds of village watchmen, paiks, peons, pharidars, simanadars, &c., have been hopelessly mixed up and confused. In the above extract the two classes of chaukidars which now exist are clearly alluded to, viz. those who do police work only and those who do both police and zemindary work. In the Burdwan mehals of the Hooghly district there was another village police-officer—peculiar apparently to the Burdwan Raj—the *pharidar.* In a report dated 26th February 1798 he is thus described :—

"In the *Burdwan* mehals of the district 20 or 25 villages are put under the care of one *chaukidar*, who has peons and pykes attached to the duty and subject to his direction. He is appointed to take care of the interest of the inhabitants and of travellers. He is required to procure safe guards for the transmission of money collected in the villages. He is obliged to make daily reports of the state of the places to the darogah. He is the public postman or daukman, and the person to apply to by all who have anything to do with the villages he may be attached to."

The Magistrate goes on to say that in the mehals transferred to Hooghly from Nuddea there is no such arrangement, and that consequently crime was more frequent in them. He proposes therefore to establish five new *chaukis* or *pharis* at Nauserai, Hooghly, Bydyabati, Sulkea, and Woolobaria (*sic*) with 17 pharidars, whom he calls

chaukidars (and this is the first time the word is used), with 34 piyadas or peons and 68 pykes (which we now call chaukidars), with 20, 10, and 6 beeghas of land each respectively—in all, 1,428 beeghas. He also proposes to remit the Government revenue of this land at Re 1-8 per beegha, so that the cost to Government would be Rs. 2,142, and says that the zemindars were willing to give the land on the above condition. There were already 960 such officers in the district, holding in all 14,026 beeghas of land. This system, he says, further "was established by Government 20 years ago, when Mr Johnson was Collector of Burdwan . . . . . and has always been attended with the most beneficial consequences to the community at large."

In 1810 complaint is made that the landlords have resumed the chakran lands of the village watch to such an extent that "their scanty provision tempts them to join the dacoits. The landholders (and principally the darpatnidars) persist in resuming the chakran land, and where resumption does not take place the lands formerly held by these subordinate police-officers have been changed for lands of an inferior quality." He therefore proposes to make them entirely independent of the zemindar, and to appoint a jemadar over every 50 on Rs. 8.

Appendix L shows in detail how more than 20,000 beeghas of chakran land had disappeared between 1799 and 1833.

In 1812 one of the Judges of Circuit brought to the notice of Government "the extensive powers exercised in the 24-Parganas by a class of mofussil officers termed pharidars, whose employment is not sanctioned by any competent authority," and an instance is given in which one of these officers exercised of his own authority "the full powers of a police darogah."

In Mr. Brodie's report on the crime in the Hooghly district in 1814 he does not spare the village watch, but says:—"The greater number of robberies and dacoities are done by the village watchmen, who select houses from which the males are absent. The existing system of village police is on the worst footing: instead of being a safeguard to the people, it is the chief source of their molestation, yet upon the fidelity and vigilance of this class of people the prevention of crime and the sufficiency of the police exclusively rests. They are not looked upon by the zemindars as watchmen, but as public servants subject to the call of every one to show the road, convey messages, or to carry burdens . . . . . No nightly watch is kept up by them, and few robberies occur in this district unless actively aided or secretly abetted by them. They are of the lowest rank, drunken in their habits, squalid, and horrid in their appearance." During his tour Mr. Brodie arrested one hundred of these officers and confined 30 or 40 of them for bad livelihood. He proposes, as a remedy for the state of affairs described above, very much what Mr. McNeile proposed more than 50 years afterwards, viz. "to appropriate the chakran lands and raise a fund for the maintenance of regular police assisted by voluntary donations and assessed contributions of the community, to disband all the present watchmen, appoint special police, and pay them monthly wages." If this advice had been followed, the people would have been saved much future suffering, and the Government much present embarrassment. A circular issued to Magistrates by the Nizamut Adalat in

1828 desired that they would "refrain from inflicting corporal punishment on chaukidars *as much as possible* consistently with a due regard to the proper discipline of your police establishment. It appears to be the practice of many Magistrates regularly to flog the chaukidars when they are unable to discover the perpetrators of thefts in their villages." The flogging was to be on the posterior instead of on the shoulders, to distinguish them from common thieves.

This form of punishment of chaukidars was abolished by Regulation II of 1834, and many Magistrates thought that the effect would be disastrous and lead to an increase of crime and lawlessness.

In the same year Mr. D. C. Smyth, one of the ablest officers who ever served in this district, and who was universally beloved and respected by all classes of the people, wrote the report which I have reproduced *verbatim* as Appendix N.

Another very valuable report on the Hooghly village police was submitted by Mr. E. A. Samuells in 1836. (176. V. 10-12-36.) He condemns the pharidars as utterly worthless. Although they were appointed by the Magistrateand not by the zemindars, the latter did not scruple to appropriate their service lands—often, no doubt, with their connivance. Out of 14,673 beeghas in the district of Hooghly which were transferred to Government by the Burdwan Raja at the time of the decennial settlement, Mr. Samuells found that 1,395 beeghas had been "abstracted" by zemindars and others. The above lands were for the support of 164 pharidars, 33 naibs, and 624 foujdari paiks. Before 1793 they were appointed by the Raja of Burdwan, and after that by the Judge and Magistrate. They did only police work, and did not assist the zemindars in collecting rents or in any other way. They combined the functions of burkundaz and chaukidar.

Mr. Samuells proposed to dismiss them all, to sell their lands, and with the proceeds to entertain a special force of burkundazes or constables. He calculates thus :—(176. V. 10-12-36.)

			Rs.
Value of 14,673 beeghas (say)	...	...	80,000
Interest on this at 5 per cent.	...	...	4,000
Government revenue on 14,673 beeghas, at (say) Re. 1			14,673
Which gives a yearly sum of	...	...	18,673

Nothing was then done; but as these officers now die or resign their lands are resumed and settled under Government order No. 3628J, dated 5th September 1881. (*Vide* Appendix M.)

The number of paiks or village watchmen is stated by Mr. Samuells to be 8,126, and he says :—"Were this enormous force regarded with the attention which ought to be bestowed upon it, or were it placed on a just and independent footing and care taken to raise the materials of which it is composed, what a powerful and effectual instrument might it not become in the regeneration of the Indian police."

In this report occurs the first allusion to *dwármásara* chaukidars, or those paid in money subscribed by the villagers. They, as well as the *chakran* chaukidars, came under the operation of Regulation XX of 1817, but the right of their appointment by the zemindar had been found to be so detrimental to efficiency that it had fallen out of use, and

the practice in 1836 was for the darogahs to nominate chaukidars and send them to the Magistrate for inspection and approval, the villagers concerned (not the zemindar), exercising by grace a right of veto if they did not approve of the nominee. The post was however looked upon as hereditary by custom and long usage, subject to exceptional and special circumstances. The zemindar's influence was, in spite of the above procedure, said to be overwhelming, and he exacted from the chaukidars an abwab called *ánisalami* at various times of the year. Some of the Civil Courts upheld this cess on the ground of custom and long usage in spite of the provisions of Regulation VIII of 1793, section 55.

The remedies which Mr. Samuells proposed were—

(1) To remove altogether the influence and interference of the zemindars and their right of nomination.
(2) Chaukidars to be nominated by darogahs in consultation with the villagers concerned, and to be appointed by the Magistrate.
(3) To wear a distinctive dress or uniform.
(4) To attend frequent parade inspections.
(5) To hold not less than 12 beeghas of land each.
(6) The pay of *dwármásara* chaukidars to be collected by a panchayet (a plan which had already been tried with success in the Hooghly district).

It will be seen that this officer's views were far in advance of those of his time. He issued orders that none of the chaukidars should work for the zemindars, but this order had to be withdrawn as regards the *malsaranjami* paiks, as they fell under section 41, Regulation VIII of 1793. A similar order was issued a few years later, viz. in 1840, to which it is now necessary to refer at greater length.

Some of the zemindars, headed by Joy Kissen Mookerjee, petitioned the Superintendent of Police for the cancelment of this order, but he refused to interfere, and against their quotation of a decision of the Judge he quoted section 21, clause 2 of Regulation XX of 1817. (131. V. 30-12-40.) On the matter being pressed further (with the persistency and determination which were such leading features in the character of the late Babu Joy Kissen Mookerjee), the Superintendent of Police ordered the Magistrate to—

"Call on the zemindars, if they wish to have the services of the paiks enrolled in the list of chaukidars for the collection of their rents, to appoint and make arrangements for the payment of other persons in their places, ... and then to furnish the police darogahs with the lists prescribed by section 21, Regulation XX of 1817, when the old lists would be cancelled, the police badges taken from the pykes, and they would be relieved from being subject to the police darogahs." (No. 298. 9-3-41.)

Much difficulty was found in getting the zemindars to carry out this order, which Mr. McNeile refers to as being passed under a misapprehension. The opposition to it was headed by Joykissen, and he ultimately carried the matter to the Privy Council and got a decision in his favour. Mr. Dampier's mistake appears to have been in assuming that the *malsaranjami* paiks were originally appointed solely for *police* work proper. This led him to pass the order above

referred to, and also to issue instructions that where the *malaranjami* paiks had been doing both police and zemindar's work, the latter should nominate one chaukidar for every 100 houses in each village, and that if there were less than 50 houses the zemindars and villagers should arrange among themselves for a chaukidar. (157. V. 8-1-44.) These orders do not appear to have been carried out until the year 1845, when Mr. Leycester was Magistrate. Though he did not approve of the order, he reports having done his best to obey it, and at the sacrifice of 1,364 village watchmen, by which number the rural police force had been diminished.

Mr. Dampier in reply (164. V. 15-1-45) says he is "glad the people have been relieved from the necessity of supporting so large a number of useless police-officers who planned and shared in dacoities."

I may note here that he also authoritatively laid down that a chaukidar could *sublet* his chakran lands, though he could not of course *alienate* them. (131. V. 2-6-41.)

It is a matter of extreme regret that none of the suggestions made before 1845 should have led to a radical change of system which was as urgently called for 50 years ago as it is now. The present village chaukidars clog the wheels of our modern police administration quite as much as engines of the time of George Stephenson would obstruct the working of the East Indian Railway.

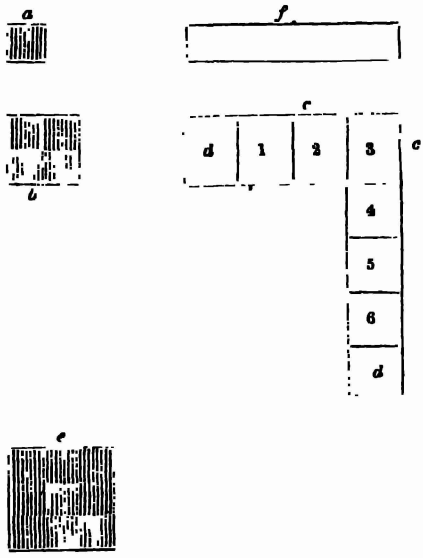
JAIL MANAGEMENT, &c.

In none of the matters described in this volume is the contrast greater between the years 1795 to 1845 and between the latter year to 1885 than in that of jail administration. So great is the attention paid to it at the present day that it is almost impossible to realise the actual state of affairs that existed nearly a hundred years ago.

The Jail Buildings.—In 1796 the Jail is described by the Judge on Circuit as follows:—"Built of mats and bamboos; situated in the centre of a large bazar, and neither secure from fire nor in any degree calculated for the safe custody of the prisoners." And in 1806 by the same authority:—"The jail of Hooghly was formerly the private dwelling-house of a native. The situation is not good, but on the whole I think the building answers the purpose tolerably well." It would seem, therefore, that the jail had been removed from its former situation; but I cannot discover where either of these old jails actually stood. The rent of the latter appears to have been Rs. 100 a month, and its capacity to have been such as to hold 300 to 350 prisoners with 100 more, when need was, in huts outside the building. A new jail containing six wards, each 50 × 31 feet, to hold 600 prisoners, was sanctioned by Government in 1814 at a cost of sicca Rs. 69,580.* The old jail was made into a civil jail. Captain Cave arrived at Hooghly in May 1814 to select a site and superintend the construction of the building. The site selected by him is that on which the present jail stands, and his reason for preferring it to any other was that it was high ground not liable to inundation by the flood waters of the Damooder, which up to that year appear to have

* Though built to hold 600 prisoners, the Magistrate in 1838 wrote that it should never contain more than 550.

reached the town of Hooghly. The main building was finished in 1816, and the hospital in 1817. The total area of land taken up was 18*b*. 2¾*c*., part of which was probably within the limits of the old Mahomedan and Portuguese Forts, and as such already Government property. For 15 brick and 283 thatched houses Rs. 7,863 was paid as compensation, for 10*b*. 11*k*. 13*ch*. of rent-free land Rs. 1,482, and for 5*b*. 2*k*. 9*ch*. of *mâl* land the abatement of revenue allowed was Rs. 30. It is curious to compare the rates paid for rent-free land in 1815 with those paid in 1885 for similar land taken for the Hooghly bridge. The former averaged Rs. 140, the latter Rs. 432, per beegha. (21. V. 3-3-15.) As early as 1831 I find allusions to the pump by which water was daily pumped up from the river for the use of the prisoners. The cause of the excessive mortality of the jail appears to have been two stagnant tanks, which were afterwards filled up. The rooms over the gate now occupied by the jailor as a residence were formerly used as a godown and store-room. The following rough sketch of the jail as it was in 1845 is reproduced from the records. (186. V. 31-7-45).



a. Pucka tank or reservoir for river-water.
b. Pucka tank to be made.
c. 1—6 existing wards.
d. Proposed new wards.
e. Tank to be filled up with earth.
f. Cook-rooms.

The average number of prisoners in the jail between 1830 and 1845 was 353. Their classification in 1835 was (1) under-trial, (2) with irons, (3) without irons. (174. V. 26-10-35.) In the year 1845 it was as follows:—

In ward	No. 1.	Non-labouring.
Do.	„ 2.	In default of security.
Do.	„ 3.	Sentenced by Judge.
Do.	„ 4.	Ditto and by Nizamat Adalat.
Do.	„ 5.	Ditto by Magistrate.
Do.	„ 6.	Under-trial.

The Magistrate, to whom, under the superintendence of the Judge, the management of the jail was made over by Act XVIII of 1844, begs that two additional wards may be built to enable him to improve upon the classification above described, and which certainly does not seem to be based upon any rational system.

JAIL ESTABLISHMENT.

On the 1st January 1820 the jail establishment stood as follows:—

	Rs.
1 Jailor on	25
1 Naib on	15
12 Burkundazes	48
6 Ditto for civil jail	24
Total ...	112

The discipline was very lax. In 1835 the Magistrate says the Jailor, burkundazes, and prisoners all hobnobbed together on terms of perfect familiarity, and after recording his opinion that no native is fitted for the post of Jailor, recommends the appointment of a European on Rs. 200 a month. On the 1st of January 1838 the yearly cost of establishment was as under. (177. V. 15-6-38.)

	Rs.
Fixed establishment, including allowance to Civil Surgeon, &c.	8,916
Extra ditto	1,389
Diet and expenses of prisoners (daily average 372) ...	6,187
Contingencies and repairs	351
	16,843

DIET, CLOTHING, &c.

Up to the year 1835 the prisoners received a daily allowance in money, and purchased their own supplies from the jail *moodie*. Up to 1795 they were not allowed to smoke, but that restriction was then withdrawn as being prejudicial to their health, and they were allowed to purchase tobacco if they chose. In 1805 each prisoner's allowance was fixed at 3 pice, or three puns of cowries. Owing to the change in the currency, 3 puns of cowries had become in 1831 equivalent to only one pice, and the allowance was therefore fixed at $\frac{5}{8}$ths of an anna, which the Magistrate said was fully equal to all the wants even of the prisoners working on the roads. The Magistrate had power to reduce the allowance to $\frac{4}{8}$ths or to raise it to $\frac{6}{8}$ths at his discretion. (122. V. 7-6-31.) The amount and variety of food which the prisoners could obtain for this slender allowance in 1835 makes one's mouth water in these days of enhanced prices.

Here is the ordinary daily *menu*:—

	Annas.	Gundas.	Cowries.
¾ seer rice	1	14	0
½ *pão* dâl	0	10	0
¼ chittack ghee	0	10	0
Ditto salt	0	10	0
Vegetables	0	10	0
Fire-wood	0	20	0
5 or 6 *chillams* of tobacco	0	0	10
Leaves for plates	0	0	10

The Magistrate, Mr. E. A. Samuells, considered the prisoners on the above scale of diet to be better fed than ordinary labourers. He was strongly in favour of the system of rations instead of money, the former of which, he says, "would at least do away with the scene of uproar and confusion which takes place at the *moodie's* shop (inside the jail) on the return of the prisoners from their daily tasks—a scene disgraceful in the extreme. It would also put a stop to the petty pilferings of the Jailor and his subordinates; and as the prisoners would *not* prefer it, it would have the advantage of being an additional deterrent."

Mr. Samuells' views on jail management generally were far in advance of his time, for he recommended a system of re-conviction registers, task-work, and better classification of prisoners, all of which were afterwards carried out. (175. V. 30-3-36.) The ration system was introduced in the Hooghly Jail on the 1st January 1836 in lieu of that which has been above described. The rations, which were at first given uncooked, were ¾ seer rice, ½ *pão* dâl, ½ chattack each of ghee and salt, ten gundas worth of vegetable, 20 gundas worth of fire-wood, with 5 or 6 *chillams* of tobacco and leaves to eat off. The prisoners formed messes among themselves, and thus made these supplies go further than they otherwise would have done. The case of one up-country prisoner is related as a hard one, as he had to mess all alone, and consequently only got a full meal every three or four days. The rations were supplied by a contractor, who obtained daily from the Jailor a list of the labouring and non-labouring prisoners, and on presenting this at the Treasury was paid the amount due at the fixed scale. He then returned to the jail, and was supposed to weigh out each ration before the darogah. When the prisoners returned from their work on the roads or elsewhere, they were marched inside and made to sit in a row, each going out one by one and getting his ration. With this system the prisoners are said to have been "very happy and contented." (177. V. 28-4-38.) The monthly cost of each prisoner under this arrangement was Re. 1-6-11.

In November 1841 the system of cooked was substituted for that of raw rations, the Jailor supplying the food, much to his own advantage, no doubt. There were 14 messes with a cook to each, the food being distributed on plantain leaves, as few of the prisoners had plates. They are said to have been indifferent to the change, but the Magistrate proposes to supply the food by contract instead of through the Jailor. (184. V. 8-9-42.)

PUNISHMENTS.

The various punishments to which prisoners were sentenced in the early days of our rule appear to our modern notions utterly barbarous and unsuitable. They formed part and parcel of the Mahomedan Criminal Law, by which Judges and Magistrates were then guided. The present Penal Code is mildness itself in comparison. Life-convicts were branded on the forehead, by the process known as *godena*, with their name, crime, date of sentence, and name of sentencing court. Whipping was inflicted from 1794 to 1796 with the '*cat*,' but the '*korah*' was again resorted to in the latter year until it gave place to the cane or rattan. Whipping was a very old-established form of

punishment, and in 1797 we find the Judges of the Nizamat Adalat commending for general adoption an invention of the Magistrate of Dacca, viz. "a jacket of strong hide, so formed and fitted as to cover and defend from injury the whole of the fore part of the body and the neck and loins behind, leaving exposed only that part of the *back and shoulders* on which the stripes ought to fall." The corpses of prisoners sentenced to be hanged were after death exposed to public view in gibbets near the place of execution, and no one was allowed to remove them. Up to 1810 the execution was carried out at head-quarters, but in 1810 it was done at the spot where the murder or dacoity had taken place. Up to 1830, when the present mode of execution was adopted, the gallows consisted of two poles fixed horizontally and surmounted by a cross-bar. On this cross-bar rested a ladder, which the convict and executioner then mounted. The latter descended after adjusting the rope, and the ladder was then pulled away. (24. V. 23-4-30.) Another curious, but much milder, form of punishment was that of "*tashir*," or public exposure. In reference to this I find a curious letter from the Magistrate of Nuddea to the Magistrate of Hooghly under date the 25th October 1797:—

"The Court of Circuit having sentenced certain culprits in this goal (*sic*) to be *mounted on asses*, and there being no animals of *exactly that species* to be found in Kishennagur, I request that you will cause the bearer to be assisted in procuring a couple in the vicinity of Hooghly, *where I understand they are to be found in plenty*(!) I am not altogether clear how far I should be warranted in mounting them on a mule, which I could procure here, but which, from his excessive waywardness, might probably inflict a more severe punishment than is intended by the sentence of the Court of Circuit."

The above punishment, and that of branding, were abolished by Act II of 1849. The practice of gibbeting was discontinued in 1833. All prisoners sentenced to labour were, unless found too old, weak, or diseased, employed in gangs on the public roads. They worked in irons, and at night were secured in tents or huts by a chain passed through the rings of their fetters and fastened outside with a padlock. Up to 1812 some of the jails were so insecure that prisoners were confined in stocks at night to prevent their escape. This practice appears to have been entirely discontinued by 1817. In this year also Sunday was first allowed as a day of rest, together with other native festival days. Outdoor work on roads was the commonest, and indeed up to 1836 the only form of labour on which prisoners were employed. It seems to have been abolished, except in special cases, about the year 1840. The recommendations of the Convict Labour Committee, which sat in Calcutta in 1836, brought about a complete change in the mode of employing prisoners, and thenceforth intramural manufactures took the place of outdoor labour on the roads. (175. V. 13-7-36.)

Many of the Magistrates were greatly opposed to the change, but Mr. E. A. Samuells, the Magistrate of Hooghly, was strongly in favour of it. He writes:—"The convicts prefer the liberty of road work to the dull monotony of the interior of the jail, except when sent to Burdwan to work under the Executive Engineer, which they dread. There was little or no discipline on the roads, and the prisoners begged many articles of food, &c., from passers by."

"The exposure of convicts is attended with no good result upon the morals of the community, and it is always dangerous to familiarise men with the every-day sight of punishment. If left entirely to the imagination. the sufferings of the convict will generally be considered much more severe than they really are. Publicity only tends to dispel the illusion."

JAIL MANUFACTURES.

The first manufacture introduced into the Hooghly Jail was that of paper, which was commenced in July 1841. The process followed was that in use at Pandua and Satgaon, and still, I believe, adopted in the Cuttack Jail The Magistrate used the jail-made paper in his own office, and tried to induce other officials to do the same, but it appears to have been inferior in quality and finish to that made by private makers. The man who taught the prisoners gave great offence to his fellow manufacturers, and the Magistrate could not induce any of them to go to Midnapore, Burdwan, or Backergunj to teach the prisoners there, though he offered as much as Rs. 20 a month. The sale of the jail paper was not rapid. The Magistrate says:—"Were I to open a retail shop. I doubt if I could supply the demand, there would be; but this, leaving out of the question the injustice of taking away the honest man's livelihood, would, I feel, be derogatory to the dignity of Government." (188. V. 17-2-44.) In these hard times Government has to think more of its financial necessities than of its *dignity*.

From the profits of the paper, the Magistrate in 1844 purchased four looms, and started the manufacture of cloth with the intention of using it for the prisoners. The darogah was allowed 35 per cent. of the net profits of these manufactures, *pour encourager les autres*.

I give below some figures showing the results attained—

Year.	Articles manufactured.	Value.	Cost of materials.	Profit.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1841-42	Paper, 218 reams ...	549	222	327
1842-43	Paper, 191 reams (+ last year's balance) ...	736	99	657
1843-44	Paper, 303 reams (+ last year's balance) ... 8 pieces cloth.	1,322	188	1,134
1844-45	Paper, 457 reams (+ last year s balance) ...	1,181	287	894
	220 cloths	417	233	184

MORTALITY.

The figures I shall give under this head are, if startling, easily explained by the following notes. The Judge on Circuit in 1807 condemns the existing jail *in toto* as "not a fit place for the existence of human beings." The mortality is described as "dreadful;" and well it may be, for between January 1806 and July 1807 the mean

number of prisoners was 462, and the number of deaths 270. The prisoners who worked on the roads, however far from the jail, had no Native Doctor or other medical assistance, and owing to exposure, &c., many of them came back to the jail only to die. Fever and dysentery carried off the majority of the victims. Not a little of the "grievous illness notorious in this jail" was due to the existence of a large tank inside the jail containing impure and stagnant water, and used as a "receptacle for filth, rotten hemp, and paper rags." The wards and the hospital were often much overcrowded. so that up to 1845, when the above tank was filled in with earth, it may be said that sanitation was left to take care of itself.

Year.	Daily average number of prisoners.	Number of deaths.	Remarks.
1813	473	34	
1818	538	19	
1819	545	16	
1820	261	3	
1826	299	26	Outbreak of cholera.
1828	352	25	
1829	432	12	
1830	359	8	
1831	388	16	
1832	380	18	
1833	448	33	
1834	362	39	
1845	458	13	

CHAPTER IV.

MATTERS CONNECTED WITH THE LAND REVENUE.

LAND MEASURES.

In a letter, No. 120, dated 30th October 1837 (V. 65), to the Commissioner, the Collector gives the following as the standard land measures in use in the Hooghly district :—

I.—Generally.

4 haths = 1 cottah. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{20 cottahs} \\ \text{80 sq. haths} \end{array} \right\}$ = 1 beegha.

II.—In Pargana Arsha and the Nuddea Kharidgee Mehals.

1 hath = 18 inches. 6,400 sq. haths = 14,400 sq. feet = 1 beegha = 1*r*. 12*p*. 27*y*.

III.—In Pargana Chaumaha and the Burdwan Kharidgee Mehals.

1 hath = $19\frac{3}{4}$ inches. 6,400 sq. hath = $17,336\frac{16}{144}$ sq. feet = 1 beegha = 1*r*. 23*p*. $20\frac{1}{2}$*y*.

RASAD FOR TROOPS.

The zemindars, who now-a-days think it a grievance to supply *rasad* to one or two detachments marching through the district, and that not every year, should have lived during the period under review. Troops were constantly passing up and down between 1795 and 1845 by the Old Benares, Guptipara, and Grand Trunk roads. The mutual recriminations between the Collector and the Commanding Officers were almost as numerous as the complaints of the zemindars. Coolies were seized and not paid ; supplies were taken by force without payment; timely notice was seldom given ; and the indents were generally inaccurate. The zemindars made an attempt, headed by Joykissen Mookerjee, to show that only such of them as owned the land on which the troops *actually camped* were liable to furnish *rasad*, but this claim was overruled. (36. V. 15-6-31.) Peons were deputed by the Collector to attend the troops, and the Commanding Officers gave them certificates as to their conduct. They were allowed deputation allowance by the Military Department if their conduct was satisfactory. The greatest difficulty the Collector had was in procuring carts and coolies. In consequence of the numerous complaints on all sides, a Committee was appointed in 1833, which drew up rules very similar to those now in force.

SAYER COMPENSATION.

The amount paid by Government to the zemindars under this head is given below :—

				Rs.
For Hat Ramchandrapore	...	...	...	1,512
„ Raja Bazaar ...	...	...	...	153
„ Bahadurgunj ...	...	...	...	3.581
„ Gobindgunj ...	...	...	...	3,698
		Total	...	8,944

On this subject the Collector, in a letter to the Board written in 1828, says :—"It is notorious from general experience that Government has been altogether misled not less in the sums paid on this score than in the supposition that the Legislature has effectually secured the community from these sources of taxation. The prohibition is in fact a dead letter, and the practice is as rife as it was at any period." (134. V. 27-9-28.)

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

The material prosperity of the people of the Hooghly district seems to have been as notorious in former years as it is now. Labour was not to be had, except at exorbitant rates, for work on roads and embankments. The Superintendents of these works were constant and loud in their complaints on this score, and were somewhat indignant with the district authorities for not forcing people to work for them at their own fixed rates. The numerous private silk and indigo factories which were erected all over the district in 1838, after the close of the East India Company's Commercial Residencies, gave more congenial and remunerative employment and nearer to the people's own homes. During his tour in the above year, the Magistrate remarked that he had not met with a single patch of uncultivated land. He adds :—"The number of brick buildings in every village, the comfortable appearance of the dwellings, and the many articles of foreign manufacture which the inhabitants possess, are sufficient evidence of their being a prosperous and industrious race." (177. V. 20-4-38.) The brightness of this picture was afterwards considerably obscured by the ruin of the indigo and silk factories and by the wave of epidemic fever which devastated the district.

RELATIONS OF LANDLORD AND TENANT.

All the early records teem with allusions to the oppressions and exactions of the zemindars towards their ryots. Though the rights of the latter were under the Regulations as fixed and immutable as those of the former, every possible mode of getting rid of them was adopted. The methods chiefly followed for enhancement of rent were remeasurement, resettlement, and a so-called improvement by making a bund or watercourse. The last was, the Collector says, "the most galling evil the ryots suffer." There were no fixed rates of rent, and every time a putni was sold the purchaser enhanced the rents. Zemindars often created *putni* tenures on the ground that the leases granted by them to their ryots became thereby cancelled. (133. V. 29-1-28.)

Complaints are frequently made of the want of knowledge of such matters owing to the institution of putwari having fallen into disuse.

"In matters where the rights and happiness of the whole class of cultivators are incessantly brought in question, the Collector has no satisfactory clue to Mofussil particulars." Though invested with such large powers to compel zemindars to supply rasad he had none in the above direction, and could only report with folded hands and await orders. The illegal exactions of cesses on the occasions of marriages, festivals, police visits, &c., were incessant, though rents were already as high as they could be screwed. Petitions poured in, but the Collector was helpless, and could only suggest the passing of an Act to make the levy of such *abwabs* penal. (176. V. 8-5-37.) The powers given (by clause 8, section 15, Regulation VII of 1799) to zemindars to compel the attendance of their ryots at their cutcherries for the adjustment of their accounts were openly and flagrantly abused. "Not one ryot out of 20 ever thinks of settling his account without being summoned under this Regulation." (176. V. 24-6-37.) In five thanas only no less than 58 peons were deputed to assist in the distraint of rent, which thus became an engine of oppression worked under cover of official authority. It was not until many years afterwards that the ryots learnt their rights and how to defend them. They are now perhaps more than a match for the zemindars.

AYMAH MUHTOTE.

A curious cess under the above title appears to have been levied by Government to a very recent date. The practice arose in this way. The aymadars, or holders of quit rent tenures granted by the Mahomedan Government, were in the habit of appointing, for the sake of their own convenience, an agent at Hooghly, who paid into the Treasury the small sums of Government revenue assessed on their tenures, and thus saved themselves the expense and hardship of a journey to head-quarters for that purpose. To the jama recorded in their engagements with Government a small specific charge was added for the purpose of covering the expense of the above arrangement. The agency was given by the aymahdars to a mohurrir on the Collector's staff, but this appointment was cancelled in 1821, and the Collector ordered not to have anything to do with it in future, but to keep a separate taujih account, as before, for each aymadar. (In Burdwan the agent appears to have been a tahsildar, who made collections locally and then paid them into the Treasury.) A mohurrir of the Collector's office was specially told off for this duty, and he was paid from the proceeds of the *muhtote.* (5. V. 15-1-22.) This arrangement continued in force until a comparatively recent date, when it was abolished under the Board's orders.

RATES OF RENT.

Such information as is available in the records on this subject are given below. (65. V. 1-4-37.)

1828. *Moujah* Haribati, *Pargana* Paonan. (134. V. 29. 3. 28.)
Sali, (1) Rs. 2-8, (2) Rs. 2-4, (3) Rs. 2, (4) Re. 1-8.
Sooria, ditto ditto ditto ditto.

Bastu, Rs. 5. *Udbastu garden*, Rs. 4.
Bamboo clumps, Rs. 5. *Tank*, Rs. 4.

1833. *Moujah* Bamungachi.
Sali, (2) Re. 1-12. *Mango* Rs. 5. *Bamboo*. Rs. 5.
Tank, Rs. 5. *Bastu*, Rs. 12. *Udbastu*, Rs. 8.

General rates per standard beegha.

Class.	In the south-east of the district.			In the north-west of the district.		
	Rice.	Potato.	Sugar.	Rice.	Potato.	Sugar.
	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.
I	2 4	3 0	3 0	2 0	3 0	4 0
II	2 0	2 12	2 8	1 12	2 8	3 0
III	1 8	2 8	2 0	1 4	2 0	2 8

The rates ascertained in parganas Arsha, Khalore, and Mundleghat by Deputy Collector Rumapersad Roy, and tested by Mr. Wauchope, Assistant Collector, are given in Appendix O.

VALUE OF LANDED PROPERTY.

The net profits of zemindary lands were generally taken at half the gross rental. For the estate of Mir Karrimuddeen in 1828 the following figures are given. (31. V. 25-4-28.)

			Rs.
Mofussil assets			45,212
Deduct—			
Govenment revenue... ...	17,781		
Taxes	188		
Malsaranjami	2,724		
Musjid	777		21,470
Profits ...			23,742

There is no doubt, however, that after the passing of Regulation III of 1828 the market value of landed property was very seriously depreciated and did not recover until after 1845. The Collector in 1835 attributes this result to the following causes:—(1) the deficiency of gold and silver, (2) inundations and floods, (3) stagnation of trade and commerce, and (4) mismanagement, litigation, and family quarrels among the proprietors. He says, however, that more putnis than estates changed hands. (V. 142.)

In 1840 the Collector gives the resumption laws as the chief cause of the depreciation, and illustrates it by the case of pargana Mandleghat. The total Government revenue of this pargana was Rs. 2,23,000, and shares of it were sold from time to time as under :—

			As. G.		Rs.
In October	1835	... ...	3 4	share sold for	1,30,000
„ April	1836	... ...	3 4	ditto	1,00,000
„ June	1837	... ...	6 8	ditto	70,000
„ September	1838	... ...	9 12	ditto	61,000
„ July	1839	... ...	3 4	ditto	10,000

He says:—" It is not surprising that rent-free property, surrounded by difficulties of identification and impoverished by the searching nature of the resumption operations, fetch prices regulated by the diminished confidence in the stability of the tenure." (81. V. 27-5-40.) The case of Mundleghat seems rather to be an illustration of the effects of serious floods than of the resumption laws. I give below some further figures on the subject:—

Year.	Number of estates sold for arrears.	Sudder jama.	Price realised.	
		Rs.	Rs.	
1842	11	6,836	55,187	V. 152
1843	10	22,660	18,304	V. 95
Total ...	21	29,496	73,491	

Whatever may have been the cause, the figures given above sufficiently prove the fact. By purchasing estates which thus went 'for a song,' the late Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee laid the foundation of his position as one of the largest landholders in the district. His employment as record-keeper gave him exceptional facilities for ascertaining the actual condition of all the estates which were brought to sale. Under this head may be mentioned a special privilege granted by the Board to Dwarkanath Tagore in 1841. Before starting for England in that year, he asked that before any of his estates were put up to sale for arrears 14 days' special notice might be given to his firm of Carr, Tagore and Co. He gives a list of 19 estates in which he held shares or interests, their total sudder jama amounting to Rs. 4,99,795. The Board granted the request "as a special mark of the approbation with which the intentions of Dwarkanath Tagore to undertake a voyage to England is regarded." (86. V. 30-12-41.)

KHAS MEHAL DEPARTMENT.

Owing to the frequent recusancy of proprietors and to the operation of the resumption laws, this Department gave a considerable amount of work and trouble to the early Collectors, and there were great differences of opinion as to the merits of the khas as compared with the farming system. Mr. W. H. Belli, writing to the Board in 1827, says (133 V. 18-6-27):—

" Khas management, as far as it has come under my experience in this district, has completely failed, and I do confess I look upon the ryotwari system as altogether impracticable here. We have been trying 4 years to explain the intentions of Government in this matter to the ryots generally of all estates similarly circumstanced, and not an individual has yet been induced to engage directly with the Government. In fact they never seem half so manageable as when left under the control of the sudder proprietor, while the Collector with all his power cannot effect in a year what a 2nd class talukdar attains in a month."

The khas system at any rate worked so badly under the Collector, who could not give it sufficient time and attention, that in 1835 it was

found necessary to appoint Mr. William Taylor as Special Deputy Collector and Superintendent of all the Khas Mehals and Resumption Suits in the Burdwan Division. Of the 25 khas mehals in Hooghly, with an area of 7,298 beeghas, all but one were so held in consequence of the recusancy of the proprietors. The exception was Beloodli, the resumed jagir of Nawab Khan Jehan Khan, the Mahomedan foujdar of Hooghly (66. V. 4-9-35), who was allowed to occupy the old Fort until his death, and was granted a pension of Rs. 250 a month during his life. He died insolvent on the 23rd February 1821, and a pension of Rs. 100 was continued to his widow. The ryots of this estate are constantly referred to as "wicked and refractory," and they maintain that character, in the eyes of the tahsildar, to this day. The Mujhpore estate, which subsequently became the property of Government, is referred to as in constant difficulties owing to losses by flood.

The khas system appears to have lasted up to the year 1836, when the Commissioner, agreeing with the Collector that the farming system was preferable, ordered him to call for farming tenders for all the khas estates in the district. As far as I can gather, the change was not an improvement, the farmers being no more punctual with their rents than the ryots, and oppressing the latter until they deserted.

SALES, BALANCES, &c.

The operation of the sale laws in the Hooghly district between 1795 and 1845 was certainly far more harsh than it is at the present time, and to this cause is due much of the depreciation in the value of landed property which has been mentioned on page 65. The zemindars were not allowed the facilities of remittance transfer receipts and revenue money-orders which they now enjoy. Every petty landholder who could not afford to entertain an agent at the sudder station had to make in person a long and tedious journey at kist time. The revenue could only be paid into the treasury of the district in which the estate was actually situated. (42. V 16-9-23.) It gradually, however, dawned on the revenue authorities that the sale of estates for very small balances was a severe measure, which often defeated its own object. Consequently in 1829 the Commissioner gave the Collector a full discretion in this matter, to sell or not as he thought fit (32. V. 18-4-29.)

The Commissioner also appears to have reversed many sales on the proprietor paying up the arrears with interest and penalty. This was going rather too far in the opposite direction, and the practice was put a stop to by the Board in 1835. (67. V. 15-5-35.) During the next year the balances of Government revenue became very heavy. The Collector was ordered to make personal inquiries into the causes, and received a somewhat severe wigging. In explanation he stated that Regulation VII of 1830 was "a source of great distress" to the zemindars: that on all sides they complained of the scarcity of money, the cheapness of produce, and the difficulty of realising their rents. The resumption laws were also considered a great hardship, and the vast number of revenue sales was, the Collector considered, sufficient proof that their complaints were well grounded. As a remedy he pointed out that "nature should be followed in our fiscal operations," and that the

kists should be thoroughly revised. He divides defaulters into four classes—

(1) Those who can pay but who do not, or will not.
(2) Shareholders who on account of family quarrels each look to the other to pay.
(3) Those who have collected their rents in anticipation before allowing their estates to be sold.
(4) Those who cannot pay.

A revision of the kists of petty estates shortly followed this correspondence. One kist was fixed for estates paying Government revenue of Rs. 10 or less, two for those paying between Rs 11 and Rs. 50, and three for those paying from Rs. 51 to Rs. 100. (69 V. 26-11-36; Board's No. 55.) The heavy balances in the khas mehals were attributed to over-assessment and to the frequent changes in the system of khas management.

REMISSIONS AND SUSPENSIONS.

It is important to note that no *remission* of revenue was ever allowed in the Hooghly district up to the year 1845, in spite of the heavy losses by flood in most of the parganas, especially in Mundleghat. *Suspensions* were often asked for and granted; but *remissions*, though often demanded, never, *i.e.*, so far as the existing records show. The largest amount suspended was Rs. 44,790 in 1833-34, after the disastrous floods of 1833 (see page 143), and this suspension was spread over three years. (64. V. 26-6 37.) The annual remissions of Rs. 4,703 for the *khalari* or salt lands, and of Rs. 671 for the Chinsurah cantonments, can hardly be called a remission proper.

COLLECTORS' WORK, PAY, &c.

I have come to the conclusion that the duties of the Collector of Hooghly during the period under review were more onerous than they are at the present day, but that his pay and allowances were far better. Resumptions, settlements, rent-suits, and sales took up most of his time until the year 1840. He had not the assistance of Deputy Collectors, and had, as a rule, only one assistant. The first Assistant Collector was Mr. A. Grote. The first Deputy Collector was Babu Rumapersad Roy, and I find that in 1842 he was in charge of the district during the Collector's illness—the first instance, probably, of a native Deputy Collector being in such charge. The ministerial establishments appear also to have been very inadequate. In 1842 the Resumption and Settlement Departments were both in arrear and disorder: 4,000 summary suits were hopelessly pending, and the law of distraint was so opposed by the ryots as to be virtually in abeyance. The business of the office and the crowds of suitors was enough, the Collector says, "to overwhelm and cause despair to even a more experienced Collector" than himself. He had, when writing as above, no Assistant or Deputy Collector to help him (152. V. 12-7-42), but they were supplied very soon afterwards, and the Board recommended him to make full use of them, and to attend office punctually, to distribute the work judiciously, and

not try and do all himself; to be the "spring of action," and not to take up the "childish, but .... too prevalent notion that every matter connected with his office is of too great importance to be committed to any other than himself. It is a melancholy sight to see a man delaying the march of business, harassing with hopeless expectations those who have concerns to transact with his office, and blighting the rising prospects of the junior service, by weakly and pertinaciously imagining that no one but himself can perform office duties." (93. V. 14-9-42.)

As regards pay I find the Collector's salary bill for December 1827 made up of the following items. (V. 128.)

		Rs.
Salary as Collector of Land Revenue	...	1,500
Abkari commission ...	...	237
Stamp ditto	...	362
Tolls ditto	...	72
Salary as Collector of Customs	...	250
Total	...	2,421

The Collector also subsequently received a percentage on the value of revenue-free lands resumed and brought on the taujih. (32. V. 14-7-29.)

The Assistant Collector's salary was Rs. 200 *plus* $\frac{6}{16}$ths of excise or stamp commission (if doing work in those departments) and Rs. 5 for every thousand stamped papers signed and authenticated by him. The commission on excise and tolls and the salary of Rs. 200 attached to the Collectorship of Customs had all vanished by 1841;—the first, owing to the transfer of the excise work to the Special Abkari Superintendent; the second, on the transfer of the Toll Department to the Public Works Department; and the last, on the abolition of the Customs Office from 1st May 1836. Mr. Belli makes a very feeling representation to Government on his loss, and gives a list of his services, a memorandum of which is appended for comparison with the rate of promotion at the present day:—

Haileybury, 1806. In College, Calcutta, 1808. Assistant Collector, Burdwan, 1810. Acting Collector, 1811. Pucka Collector, 1819. Mr. Belli was seven years at Hooghly, a longer period than that enjoyed by any other Collector of Hooghly up to 1845.

THE REVENUE SURVEY.

The first sign of any attempt to improve our knowledge of the topography of the district was the appointment in 1814 of Lieutenant Jackson to "survey the boundaries of Hooghly, Burdwan, Midnapore and the jungle mehals under the Surveyor-General."

I have not been able to procure from the Surveyor-General's office or elsewhere any of the early maps of the district. In 1841 arrangements were made for the survey party working in Midnapore under Lieutenant Matheson to extend their operations to pargana Mundleghat, the survey of which was begun in the cold weather of 1841-42

In the following cold season this party was joined by that under Captain Smyth from Orissa; and two Deputy Collectors, Baboos Kalipersad Ghose and Eshan Chunder Dutt, were specially deputed for the work of demarcation. The survey was completed in 1845, but was condemned by the Board for the following reasons:—

(1) That the demarcation was made without reference to the information which the Collector's office could have supplied.

(2) That mouzahs, puttees or divisions of mouzahs, and chaks of mouzahs were separately demarcated, and many not demarcated at all.

(3) That no comparison was made or attempted to be made with the list of mouzahs in the Collector's office, and that no record was made on the thackbast of the number and name of the mehal to which the mouzah belongs.

(4) That the column which ought to show the name of the proprietor was generally filled up with the name of the putnidar or durputnidar who holds under the zemindar, and that no comparison was made. That the detached portions of one village which are recorded as situated in another are represented as being in the latter.

The Board, in their letter No. 349, dated the 30th October 1847, reported the matter for the orders of Government, recommending that the operations in zillah Hooghly should be commenced *de novo*.

In reply the Government of Bengal, in Revenue Department letter No. 942, dated 8th December 1847, concurred in the opinion of the Board as to the necessity of an entirely fresh survey of the district of Hooghly.

RESUMPTIONS, RENT-FREE TENURES, &c.

The total number of mehals resumed and brought on the taujih of the district up to the end of the year 1843 was 199, bearing a sudder jama of Rs. 16,227; two, with sudder jama aggregating Rs. 496, had been released; and 197, with jama of Rs. 15,732, were still under inquiry. The resuming officer received a commission on the value of the lands resumed and brought on the taujih. (32. V. 14-7-29; 96. V. 28-10-43.) An Uncovenanted Deputy Collector was placed in special charge of this department in 1841. In the previous year the Government had ordered that mehals of less than 50 beeghas should not be resumed. The Collector reported in 1842 that this order had done much good, but that the rich had escaped assessment, while the honest had not. He thought that only the surplus over 50 beeghas should be assessed. (85. V. 26-1-40.) Reporting in 1844 on the effects of the resumption laws, the Collector stated that this order had been a source of bitter disappointment to many, because it was not made retrospective. Those who had come forward and declared their rent-free lands had thus fared worse than those who had hitherto concealed them, but who could now come forward and openly claim the benefit of the 50-beegha rule. He states that the holders of the smaller resumed mehals found it extremely difficult to pay their Government revenue, and that many

of them would have given up their lands but that their forefathers had built their residences and resided on them for generations past. Many of these had, however, allowed their estates to be sold, some in collusion with the neighbouring talukdars, others because they were unable to resist their encroachments, but more still owing to their distressed condition and the inconvenience and expense of going to Hooghly to pay their Government revenue. He further brings to the Board's notice that at the time of the decennial settlement a very large area of land had been concealed, and had thus escaped assessment. Thus the quinquennial register of aymah Kola shows 362 beeghas, but on a butwara being made the ameen actually measured 1,000 beeghas, the Government revenue being thus less than one anna a beegha. In another mouzah, Kaleshpore, its incidence was only 4 annas a beegha; and in a third, aymah Gopalpore, 2 annas 6 pie. When rent-free lands were resumed, they were accurately measured before settlement, and thus it often happened that their half jama was more than the full Government revenue of *mál* estates. The prices fetched at revenue sales told the same tale. Thus a decennially-settled estate with a sudder jama of Rs. 12 fetched at auction Rs. 773, while a resumed lakhiraj assessed at half rates with Government revenue of Rs. 18 only fetched Rs. 55! (121. V. 3-7-44.)

RENT-FREE TENURES.

Perhaps in no other district in Bengal are rent-free tenures spread in very small patches over such a large area. The Collector in 1836 sends the following list of those granted by the Burdwan Raj. (63. V. 14-7-36.)

Class.	Number.	Area.
I. Under 100 beeghas ...	26,125	4.32.409
II. Between 100 and 500 beeghas	750	1,30.428
III. Over 500 beeghas ...	47	54,148
	26,922	6,16,985
Still under investigation ...	800	1,84,937
	27,722	8,01,922

The road-cess returns of the Hooghly district show that 69,718 such tenures, with an area of 4,96,706 beeghas, have been assessed with road-cess, viz. 69,612 in class I, 100 in class II, and 6 in class III. The estimated number of those which have still escaped assessment was, in 1878, 75,282, with an area of 1,49,872 beeghas. (No. 531R.C., dated 20th August 1878, to Commissioner.)

PUTNI SALES.

Under this head the old records do not contain much information. The sales of putni tenures appear to have been more numerous than those of estates. The former usually extended over two or three days, while now they are generally completed in one. Some figures as regards

the realisation of fees under Regulations XLV of 1799 and VIII of 1819 are given below :—

Year.			Fees realised.	Spent.	Credited to Government.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1836-37	...	...	1,792	1,191	601
1837-38	...	...	2,508	1,895	613
1838-39	...	...	1,485	614	871
1839-40	...	...	1,293	693	600
1840-41	...	...	1,298	1,023	275

The expenditure was made under the following heads :—guard-houses : post-office : auction-bungalow : contingencies : and sale, khas mehal, summary suit, and Chinsurah mutation establishments. (152. V. 3-8-42.) The special arrangements made for the Burdwan Raj as regards putni rents are described below :—

In 1823 the Raja of Burdwan petitioned the Governor-General as follows :—

(1) That Regulation VIII of 1819 be modified so as to make it incumbent on all putnidars to pay their rents at the Sudder Cutcherry of Burdwan, where (as is alleged) they were paid before the Regulation was passed.

(2) That all putnis of the Raj be declared liable to sale at Burdwan only, in whatever district they may be situated. Also that any Raj *estate* in arrear should be so sold.

(3) That other *mokarrari* tenures be sold under the Putni Regulation.

The grounds of the request were—

(*a*) That although Regulation VIII was made for the mutual benefit of Government and the Raj, yet "treacheries and such other delinquencies as proved highly prejudicial and injurious to the collection of the Government revenue are still experienced from the putnidars."

(*b*) The difficulty of getting trustworthy mukhtars.

(*c*) The danger and difficulty of bringing the sale proceeds to Burdwan.

In a demi-official letter dated 4th May 1823, the *Judge* says that the Raja's application "has reference to a practice of Court which has grown up at Hooghly and elsewhere (whether properly or not may now be decided by the Sudder Dewany Adalat, and the matter regulated by a circular order), viz., to allow advertised *bakidars* to lodge their arrears in Court, where the money remains in deposit, and the Raja is barred of his further process by an order of Court to include the deposit in the *hisab* when the sale may come on."

This demi-official further says that the omission of the tenures mentioned in clause (3) of the petition was quite accidental.

The orders of Government in their letter to the Board dated 10th July 1823 were as under :—

"The amount sales of putni taluks sold in other districts may be paid over to the Collector by the Judge for a bill on Burdwan in

favour of the Raja, which should be forwarded to the Collector of Burdwan for delivery to the Raja in order that he may receive the amount either in cash or by transfer to the credit of his own revenue payable to the Collector of Burdwan."

These arrangements are still in force.

CANOONGOES AND PUTWARIS.

In my opinion one of the greatest and most serious errors of our early administration was to allow this village agency to fall into disuse. Instead of having an agent in every village to give him information regarding the state of the crops, the rates of rent, the condition of the ryots, and other matters of vital interest to the general body of the people, a Collector in the Lower Provinces has only the police. When in 1821 the Collector of Hooghly called the attention of the Board to the necessity of enforcing the Regulations regarding that very necessary class of village officer, the putwari, he only got a snub for his pains, and was told to confine his energies to the organisation of the newly-formed Collectorate, and to arrange the records received from Burdwan. (127. V. 29-5-21.) The Board says that orders about putwaris will follow.

Accordingly I find that in 1822 arrangements were put in progress, but the system was to be introduced gradually and after local inquiry. For the period previous to the Permanent Settlement no papers were available, and the records only relate how from the above year up to 1845 the Collector was engaged in a constant but ineffectual struggle with the zemindars to compel them to appoint and register putwaris. Though armed with legal powers to enforce his orders, the Collector could make no progress against the stolid and obstinate policy of passive resistance adopted by the zemindars, and the attempt was eventually abandoned in despair. (95. V. 28-10-43.)

JALKAR.

In 1823 a committee was appointed to sit in Calcutta "to inquire into the fish markets of the city."

The following extracts from their letter, calling upon the Collector of Hooghly for information, are interesting. (5. V. 1-4-23.)

"In the district of Nuddea a very trifling jalkar revenue is paid to Government for the fisheries in the Hooghly river, though it would appear that all zemindars who have lands on the banks of other rivers pay jalkar to Government.

"In the Hooghly district the jalkar jama of the Hooghly river was not included in the settlement of the district, although it has been a practice from time immemorial for the proprietors of land on the riverside to collect a revenue from the fisheries. The numerous tolls levied by the landholders from fishing-boats passing through what they consider to be their part of the river is one great cause of the delay in bringing fish to Calcutta and of its enhanced price. Contributions are also levied at every Government *choki*, whether police, revenue, or customs."

As regards the levy by zemindars of rents for fishing in the Hooghly river, the committee appears to have been misinformed.

In 1828 a claim to the exclusive right of jalkar in the tidal waters of the river Hooghly was set up by certain fishermen. The Board, after referring to the civil case of Mohun Jellia, plaintiff, *versus* Harish Chunder Roy and Gaur Mani Dasi, defendants, in which that right had been incidentally disallowed, expresses an opinion that the term *jalkar* applied only to tanks and jheels the beds of which when dry belonged to the zemindars, and not to the zemindaris which bordered on rivers. The Collector is asked to report if any leases for jalkar in the Hooghly district were given before the decennial settlement. (31. V. 18-4-28.)

I give the reply *verbatim*, as likely to be useful for possible future reference :—

" I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1218, of 18th April 1828, calling upon me to make an investigation into the rights claimed by certain individuals under the denomination of julkur.

" 2. After a minute search into the records of this office, I must state that I have not been able to derive any information corroborative of the pretensions advanced by persons in the instances to which you refer, on the contrary the reference is the reverse way, rather negativing any such inherent rights.

" 3. It is true Cally Persaud Roy filed in 1199 B.S. papers wherein is inserted 57 Rs. under the head of gunga julkur, but I consider this to have been done with a motive to institute the right rather than to have been in conformity with a prescriptive right ; for, looking at his tahood at the time of the decennial settlement, there is clearly no entry whatever of this kind, and Gourmoni Dassee seems to have pursued precisely the same course, exhibiting the same features throughout the case. Besides, Radheeca Prasad Roy and other extensive proprietors along the Ganges have not, to the knowledge of this office, set up any such claim, and all these tahoods were equally silent on the subject

" 4. There is also on record a copy of a pattah produced by certain fishermen, said to have been granted by Sulahuddeen Mahamad in the year 1196 B.S., just previously to the decennial settlement. If this should seem to weaken the foregoing reasoning, it is at the same time to be remarked that the parties tendering it deposed that the only right to levy the cess arose from the circumstance of fishermen proceeding to fix bamboos in the bed of the river and dam up the water, but on no occasion did they ever experience hindrance to unrestrained fishing by the simple casting of nets.

" 5. Copies of all these papers are herewith transmitted for the Board's consideration.

" 6. In the course of my judicial duties I cannot charge my memory with ever having had a case of this nature before me. The only suits for julkur jamma ever brought up for decision were those purely on interior bodies of water where the zemindar or other proprietor of the lands contiguous takes revenue only whilst the water remains, and at the subsiding of the floods he gets the bed of the river, jheel, bheel, or under whatever other denomination it may go, for such cultivation as it may be capable of sustaining." (134. V. 9 5-28.)

THE CHINSURAH KHAS MEHAL.

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM AND ARRANGEMENTS OF THE DUTCH.

It has been mentioned on page 14 that the annual revenue realised by the Dutch from their Chinsurah possessions was sicca Rs. 13,122, and that a large part of this was the proceeds of "various cesses repugnant to the spirit of our Regulations." After realising these for the *ad interim* period of one year, Government remitted Rs. 6,581 as objectionable, and retained only the land revenue and excise. (37. V. 1-8-27.)

The land revenue system of the Dutch is described by the Special Commissioner as being "undefined and arbitrary." The land revenue was derived chiefly from rents and from the fees levied on the issue or renewal of pottahs and on the transfer of landed property.

The rates of rent varied as much as from sicca Rs. 3-15 to sicca Rs. 22-8 per beegha; these were for *bastu* or homestead lands, of which there appear to have been about 658 beeghas in all. The rates prevalent in other parts of the district ranged from sicca Rs. 5 to sicca Rs. 20.

The rates fixed on the Chinsurah lands were those which were prevalent when the Dutch acquired them from the Mogul Government. Any increase of revenue was gained by letting out unsettled, concealed, or waste lands.

The old Dutch "Dorp Books" of 1755, 1761, and 1818 made no mention of rates of rent, but simply gave the amount of each holding and the rent thereof. The rental of 1778 was sicca Rs. 2,461, that of 1818 sicca Rs. 2,461; the increase of sicca Rs. 624 being obtained as above described. The holders of these lands were classed by caste or religion, and not by mohullas or other similar divisions. Mr. Herklots, the Fiscal of Chinsurah, writing to the Collector of Hooghly in 1827 (56. V. 27-10-27), reports that he had examined the old Dutch records for 80 years back, and had found the rental of each plot the same as it was then. The only exception to this rule appears to have been that the highest possible rate of rent was exacted for those unsettled lands for which a pottah was given for the first time. Such pottahs were called *ticca*, and were usually granted for some special purpose, such as the establishment of a *gunj* or market. The fees levied on the transfer of this landed property have been alluded to above. The method of their levy is thus described in a letter from the Fiscal to the Collector. (54. V. 15-7-34.)

"Under the Dutch Government there were two offices for the transfer of landed property, viz. the Native or Zemindary Court and the European Court of Justices. In the latter all mutations and mortgages were granted under a judicial deed, and were to be proved as the rightful property of the disposer. Such a deed having been obtained and presented to the Zemindary Court, a pottah was granted and the transfer entered in the Dorp Book (*sic*) (village accounts). In the former or Native Court private deeds of sales, transfers, or deeds of gift were admitted, but not registered until they had been publicly advertized for claimants or objectors to the petitioner's prayer. If no claim was made or adjudged in the Zemindary Court, the transfer took

place and new pottahs were granted. The *fee* to which the new proprietor was liable on the occasion of actual transfer under the Dutch Government, and which is now continued under the British Government, was a tax of five per cent on the value of landed property, without the payment of which due the validity of the deed was not considered as confirmed.

"I am not aware that any coercive measures were adopted on omissions of registering transfers, further than that the deed of sale or gift that had not been judicially proved was not held to be valid or binding."

This *ad valorem* fee of 5 per cent was not levied in the case of the new or *ticca* pottahs alluded to above, but only on transfers by sale and gift. The *ticca* pottahs, unless granted by special favour, carried a higher rental than the others, and were also subject to payment of the pottah fee and of the stamp duty. (56. V. 15-11-28.) The Dutch indeed levied stamp duty on all documents, of whatever nature—whether judicial, commercial, ecclesiastical, or marine; whether public or private. (72. V. 17-6-36.) Before passing to the revenue arrangements made by the English in Chinsurah, it may be interesting to quote the description given by the last Resident or Governor, Mr. D. A. Overbeck (who was associated with Mr. Walpole as Commissioner for settling the affairs of Chinsurah) of the rod with which the Dutch made their land measurements (58. V. 22-7-37):—

"1. The rod which has been delivered to you by the transfer of the colony Cintsurah (*sic*) has four divisions, specifying, I suppose, the *hath* of a certain longshank named Jan Dinks, who lived in the beginning of the former century, and was buried in a garden opposite the burying ground in Cintsurah. 2. Each division appears on the face of the rod to contain 21 of your English inches; the four together consequently are 84 inches of 4⅔ cubits common English measure. 3. It seems that they have contrived to shorten this rod by three inches. 4. The four supposed cubits of Jan Dinks have been converted by the Dutch into 4½ cubits Rynland measure, and consequently you must find 4½ cubits in their pattahs, and the difference of opinion which you mention ..... may originate in the want of knowledge of the Rynland measure. We had of course nothing to do in times past with that of the English. (5) This is all the information I can give. They are reminiscenses of a century and upwards, and of too little interest to make a deep impression on the human mind."

The standard rod by which the English measurements were made was that of pargana Arsha, viz. 18 inches.

I will now detail the revenue arrangements made by the English in place of those an outline of which has been given above.

These changes were not (with the exception of the abolition of sayer and other cesses) very radical. All parties found in possession at the time of the transfer were left undisturbed, and all *sanads* granted by the Netherlands Government were held to be valid. Those who could show long possession without any sanad were granted a pottah on payment of a fee of sicca Re. 1-4, with eight annas for the cost of the notice to be issued calling for objections. The *ad valorem* fee of 5 per cent levied by the Dutch Government was continued, the renewal

fee being fixed at sicca Re. 1-8 as against sicca Re. 1-12 taken by the Dutch. (144. V. 4-7-36.)

The Board of Revenue had ordered this fee to be levied on *all* transfers, including succession by inheritance; but the people "in a body" protested against this order, and under a resolution of the Governor-General in Council, dated 21st August 1828, its levy was limited to cases of transfer by sale or gift. (37. V. 11-11-28.) It was also decided that the fee was to be calculated on the rental only, and not, as first levied by the Collector in accordance with Dutch precedent, on the value of the land and of the buildings standing thereon. The stamp fees on the deeds were considered sufficient to cover the value of the buildings. The value of the land was, under the orders of the Government of India dated 31st March 1841, to be taken as 20 times the annual rental, or, in other words, one year's rental, as now levied. (86. V. 10-5-41.) As regards *lakhiraj* land, a twelve years' uninterrupted possession from the 12th August 1765 (the date of the East India Company's accession to the Dewani) was held, in the absence of any Dutch *sanad*, to constitute a valid title, the Dutch *sanads* being accepted without question.

Under the orders of the Board of Revenue dated 24th October 1828, all the Dutch *pottahs* were to be surrendered and replaced by English leases, corresponding in all particulars to those recalled.

This order provoked the strongest and most determined opposition on the part of the residents of Chinsurah. The Collector, writing in July 1834, says that he has been able after eight years of effort to get in only about one-third of the old Dutch pottahs. Up to the end of June 1833 only 437 new English pottahs had been issued. In December 1835 out of about 2,100 Dutch pottahs only 1,100 had been exchanged. As the result of more energetic and coercive measures, the figures from 1st July 1833 up to the end of December 1835 were 1,314. The amount of fees realised up to the end of December 1835 was Rs. 11,800. Much of this improvement was due to the energy of the late Baboo Joykissen Mookerjea of Uttarpara, who was the Collectorate record-keeper, and specially entrusted with this duty. I shall relate further on how it brought him punishment and disgrace instead of reward. In July 1836 an Assistant Collector, Mr. Halkett, was deputed to complete the work (144. V. 4-7-36), and by Board's order No. 554, dated 18th April 1837, the applications for the exchange, which formerly bore a stamp of eight annas, were ordered to be received on plain paper. I find that during the three years 1840 to 1842 the number of new English pottahs issued was only 157. The fees levied on these (under the orders of the Government of India quoted on page 76) amounted to only Rs. 192, of which the farmer took half under the terms of his lease, whereas under the old procedure they would have amounted, as the Collector regretfully says, to no less than Rs. 2,311. The opposition to the exchange of the Dutch for English pottahs appears to have been led by the Seal family of Chinsurah, on some of whom the Collector imposed daily fines, and who in default of payment were imprisoned under Regulation VII of 1824. Fines were also imposed by the Collector—apparently in despair of any other remedy—for non-registration of

transfers, "failure to report purchase," &c. No Regulation or Government order is quoted in the Proceedings, which appear to have been subsequently quashed by the Commissioner (51. V. 12-6-34.)

The area in beeghas and description of land in Chinsurah as given by the various surveys made are given in tabular form below :—

DESCRIPTION OF LAND.	Dutch books of 1792. (56.V.14-8-27.)	Mr. Osborn's survey in 1827. (117. V. 13-8-44.)	Mr. Pogson's survey of 1862 (a).	Revenue survey of 1869 (b).	REMARKS.
Mal	835	1,061	1.008	1,452	(a) Rod of 4½ haths, or 81 inches.
Lakhiraj	406	152	135	118	(b) Standard measurement rod of 4 haths, or 72 inches.
Khámár. Government buildings, waste land, &c.	Not given	166	168	200	
Total ...	1,241	1,379	1,311	1,770	

The tendency of recent years has been towards an increase in the size of the holdings, the number having been reduced from 2,632 in 1844 to 2,163 in 1888. I attribute this to the great increase of wealth and prosperity which is everywhere so conspicuous at the present day, as evinced by improved dwellings, gardens, and other modes by which the style of living and standard of comfort has been raised in the town. The land revenue of Chinsurah for 1825, the first year of our occupation, was sicca Rs. 3,073, the total collections, including sayer and all other items of revenue raised by the Dutch, being sicca Rs. 14,634. In 1836 it was let in farm for eight years to Anand Narayan Roy at a yearly jama of Rs. 3,230 (the net hustabood revenue of that year), with an allowance of Rs. 225 for *saranjami*. The farmer was also to receive half the amount levied yearly as transfer fees, half the rental of *taufir* lands which he succeeded in bringing under assessment, and one-third of the transfer fees levied on the exchange of Dutch for English pottahs at the rate of Re. 1-8 each. The land occupied by the cantonments, Military Bazaar and College, bearing an assessment of Rs. 88, Rs. 103, and Rs. 72, respectively, were excluded from this arrangement. The present annual jama of Chinsurah (1888) is Rs. 4,063. For convenience of reference I give here the procedure now followed in regard to the transfer of holdings in the Chinsurah Khas Mehal. The applicant first presents a petition bearing a court-fee stamp of eight annas. He also gives a court-fee stamp of twelve annas as the fee for service of the notice, which is then issued, calling for objections. The tahsildar next makes a local inquiry and reports if the applicant is in possession, and if the holding corresponds to the record of it at the last survey. If the transfer be granted, a *pottah salami* fee of Re. 1-8, together with one year's rental, is levied. (Government orders No. 919, dated 21st August 1878, and Board's No. 2535, dated 8th July 1878.)

THE JOYKISSEN MOOKERJEE AFFAIR.

It is due to the memory of the late Babu Joykissen Mookerjee, of Uttarparah, that I should not pass over in silence the occurrences which

led to his dismissal from the post of Collectorate record-keeper in 1836. Having gone through all the voluminous and somewhat acrid correspondence on the subject, I have no hesitation in stating my belief that he was the victim of a conspiracy on the part of the Chinsurah ryots, and that the charges brought against him were not substantiated. It has been mentioned at page 76 that the Board's orders regarding the exchange of Dutch for English pottahs were extremely unpopular with the ryots, who resisted them to the utmost extent of their power—*vis inertiæ*. When Babu Joykissen was appointed record-keeper by the Collector, Mr. W. H. Belli, that officer stated that he had selected him for the "special duties at Chinsurah for his acknowledged abilities and independent character." He accepted the office of record-keeper "not as a means of supporting himself, but with the object of acquiring a full knowledge of the revenue laws." It was improbable on the face of it that a man of his position and shrewdness of character should have risked his reputation by taking fees for himself on the issue of the English pottahs. However, when the Commissioner, Mr. Evylyn Gordon, visited Hooghly in the cold weather of 1835-36, a large body of the Chinsurah ryots—refractory ryots the Collector calls them—went to the Commissioner with a petition making charges against the record-keeper to the above effect. The Commissioner sent it to the Collector with a private note saying that he "believed it all"! The petition purported to be signed by 71 persons—none of them people of any position or influence; and of these, seven denied their signatures. The majority on being questioned stated that they were under the impression when signing the petition that it was to ask the Board to cancel their order for the exchange of pottahs. No specific charge was made, and the Collector, in returning it, stated his opinion that the charges had been got up by contumacious ryots, and that unless any specific charge were made he could not make any further inquiries under the procedure of Regulation XIII of 1793.

The Board then ordered the Commissioner to inquire into the matter personally. The Commissioner began his investigation on the 1st January 1836, and did not complete it until the 5th March following. He suspended Joykissen and called upon him to give bail for his appearance to the extent of Rs. 20,000. As he could not immediately comply with this order, he was lodged in the thana for some days. The result of the inquiry was that both Joykissen and the Nazir, Safdar Ali, were dismissed by the Commissioner. The charge made against the latter was that he used to levy 5 annas for himself whenever a peon was sent to call a ryot for renewal. (144. V. 13-6-36.) The Collector was censured by the Commissioner for laxity of supervision and control, for being not easily accessible to the people, and for an overweening confidence in his own *amla*, who, he said, had "cruelly oppressed the ryots of Chinsurah." This report evoked from Mr. Belli a most indignant rejoinder. He complained bitterly that Mr. Gordon had himself dismissed Joykissen Mookerjee "rather than risk for one moment the chance of an acquittal," and although "not one single tangible charge on which a *legal* conviction might be founded could be obtained against him." He states also that the nazir was dismissed without a hearing, and that the Commissioner had sent to search for

papers in the Collector's office one of the *amla* whom he himself (Mr. Belli) had recently dismissed.

The rancour and ill-feeling to which the affair gave rise may be judged by the following very unparliamentary expressions used by Mr. Belli:—"I can take my oath I am right." . . . . . "Something like the wolf and the lamb." . . . . . "The usual self trumpeting. . . . . I am not a jot inferior to Mr. Officiating Commissioner" !! "Flippant as usual. I know the matter as well as you do, but *zid* is your food, whilst the essential ends of justice are wholly neglected."

I am not alone in thinking that a great injustice was done to Joykissen, for a subsequent Commissioner, after inspecting what he called the *summary* proceedings of his predecessor, reported in 1842 that there was nothing against his re-employment by Government. The report ends thus—

"Babu Joy Kissen Mookerjee has since, by the general respectability of his character, by his intelligence and abilities, and by the interest he takes in the public good, won for himself in the estimation of the community a place which perhaps no other landholder except Dwarkanath Tagore has attained to." (94. V. 30-9-42.) I have gone at some length into the details of this affair, because I have often heard it spoken of to his discredit. With all his faults, chief among which I hold to be his hard (though *generally* strictly legal) dealings with his tenants, he was undoubtedly a benefactor to the public, and much in advance of his times, on which he has left the impress of his strong individuality. He took a leading part in all the public affairs of this district until the year before his death.

THE SERAMPORE KHAS MEHAL.

The total land revenue derived by the Danish Government from the lands acquired from them including Akna and Pearpore was Rs. 9,088. The kists fixed by our predecessors were 31st January and 31st July, and they are the same to this day. The rents paid by the Danish Government were—

	Rs.
To zemindars	1,708
„ lakhirajdars	651
For site of godowns	19
„ site of bazar	254
Total ...	2,632

[117. V. 13-11-45.]

Like the Dutch at Chinsurah, the Danes levied fees on the issue and renewal of pottahs to their tenants. The scale was fixed as follows, and is still in force. (117. V. 13-11-45.)

		Rs.	A.	P.
If the value be less than Rs 30	a fee of	0	8	0
From Rs. 30 to Rs. 100	„	1	0	0
„ „ 100 to „ 300	„	2	0	0
„ „ 300 to „ 500	„	3	0	0
„ „ 500 to „ 1,000	„	4	0	0
For every additional „ 1,000	„	1	0	0

The original record of the "khaznah for the year 1839," in which the above scale is entered, is still preserved in the Serampore subdivisional office. The Danish Regulation imposing it is dated 9th December 1839, and was formally promulgated on the 14th January 1840. The following is the procedure now in force in accordance with the regular traditional practice in the subdivision from Danish times, but the authorities are not known, and I am not in a position to give them.

Measurement fees of Re. 1 and Rs. 2 for lands up to and over Rs. 100 in value are payable to the amlah deputed to measure, and four annas to the chainman in all cases.

The procedure in mutation cases is as follows:—A petition is given with 8 annas stamp, a proper statement being made of the nature of the former owner's interest and of the particulars of transfer. Order is then passed for the publication of a notice, for the publication of which a 12-annas court-fee stamp is taken. One copy of the notice is posted at the sudder cutcherry, and another on the ground. Before the notice can be published, the mutation fees according to the fixed scale must be paid in. If the former pottah has been filed, the time for the currency of the notice is 15 days; if not, it is one month. If no objections be made, or, if made, after they have been determined, it is ascertained whether or not the land has been measured since the Danish era. If it has not, it is measured to bring it to the 18-inch hath instead of the old Danish 20-inch hath. The new measurement is then entered in the registers, and the new pottah given. Once land has been measured by the present system, it is not remeasured unless there has been any subdivision of the tenure.

The method of estimating the value of lands for the purpose of fixing the amount of fees to be paid is this. Lands in the English portion of the town are conventionally valued at the fixed standard of Rs. 200, those in the native quarter at Rs. 100, and those outside the town at Rs. 50 per cottah.

TICCA RENTS.

It remains only to explain what is meant by the payment—made by the English Government to this day—of *ticca* rents. In the years 1787 and 1797 the Danish Government prepared Bengali rent-rolls or *jamabandis* of the lands held by them. Many persons produced *char chittas* or *sanads* granted by the zemindar of Seoraphuli entitling them to hold their lands rent-free for ever. These after due scrutiny and inquiry were, if found valid, passed and signed by the Danish Council and confirmed to the holders and their heirs and successors in perpetuity. Some of the title deeds now held by these "*ticcadars*" bear the signatures of Messrs. Lushington and Graham. They specify merely the amount of annual rent due, and not the extent or boundaries of the land. On their production in original before the subdivisional officer the amount due is paid and endorsed on the deed, in the same way as the payment of pension is endorsed by the Treasury Officer on the permanent payment order. The payees are most unpunctual and unbusinesslike in their application for payment, and at the present moment a sum of no less than Rs. 2,968, due on account of these ticca rents, is lying in the Treasury as a lapsed deposit.

MISCELLANEOUS REVENUE.

EXCISE—SALT—POUNDS—FERRIES—POST-OFFICE—TELEGRAPHS.

THE EXCISE REVENUE.

By Regulations II and XXVII of 1793 legal provision was made for the collection of the excise revenue by the Collectors on behalf of Government. Previous to that year Lord Cornwallis' Regulation of 19th April 1790 had prohibited the manufacture of liquor without a license, and a Regulation of 14th January 1891 had provided for the granting of such licenses to distillers and to vendors. The excise system of 1793 was the outstill system, with a daily tax of Re. 1-4, 12 annas, or 6 annas, according to the site of the shop. Even thus early the great principle of restricting consumption by raising the duty was recognised even if it were not acted upon. That it was not fully acted up to may be gathered from a letter from the Board dated 12th May 1809. "The rules appear to have been generally neglected, and the Collectors to have exerted themselves to increase the collections more by the establishment of numerous shops than by a progressive increase in the rates at which they are licensed. The object is to increase the revenue and at the same time check the immoderate use of intoxicating liquors." It would seem from the above extract that excess drinking was not unknown even as early as 1809, and that the modern complaints on that score must be received *cum grano*. Shops were not to be opened within one mile of the boundary of the foreign settlements; but as the boundaries were not clearly known or defined, there was a good deal of friction in this respect. This rule was abolished in 1819, the distance being fixed instead at "such as may prevent them (our shops) from becoming a source of a direct nuisance to the inhabitants of the foreign settlements or the occasion of riot and disorder in their immediate vicinity." (2. V. 2-10-19.) The distance was to be fixed by the Collector in communication with the foreign governors.

The excise shops were sold by auction, but if any abkar subsequently made a better offer the original purchaser was given the option of keeping his shop at the higher rate or of surrendering it. (1. V. 8-9-17.)

Up to 1821 the abkari mehal of Hooghly was managed by the Collector of Burdwan, and on its transfer to the Collector of Hooghly the former was allowed to draw Rs. 339 per mensem as compensation for the loss of his commission on the sale of exciseable articles and

stamps. (9. V. 10-5-21.) The calculation was made on the figures given below, which show the *net* revenue of the two districts :—

Year.	Excise.	Stamps.
	Rs.	Rs.
1816-17	1,04,419	1,13,047
1817-18	91,017	1,17,879
1818-19	99,167	1,27,839
1819-20	61,106	1,09,272

Several proposals to farm the abkari mehal appear to have been made, but they were very vigorously, and, so far as I can find, successfully, opposed by Mr. D. C. Smyth, the Magistrate. (18. V. 11-1-27.) In a review of the excise administration of Hooghly for the past ten years, the Collector remarks in 1828 that the greater the number of shops, the less the revenue seems to have been: that the amount of arrear collections was appalling, and that the opium revenue was much interfered with by smuggling in French Chandernagore. The price there is said to be 5 to 7 tolas, as against 3 tolas per rupee in English territory. "The parties engaged in the trade are too numerous, powerful, and cautious to be contravened by any circumspection of the Collector. (82. V. 6-12-28.) The privilege of receiving 300 chests of opium yearly, now commuted to a cash payment, is said to have been secured to the French Government at the treaty of Vienna by the skill and diplomacy of the great Talleyrand. The amount of opium sold at the Treasury to retail vendors between 1824 and 1830 was only 6, 5½, 14, 12½, 14½, 12½, and 15 seers per annum respectively. The sale from the Treasury was necessary in consequence of a combination amongst the vendors to resist the increase of the price of opium from Rs. 10 to Rs. 23-8 per seer. The Collector thinks that this high price leads to increased smuggling, and notices that for the last nine years the yearly average of contraband opium seized was less than half a maund. (139. V. 12-5-32.) The price was, however, raised in 1836 to Rs. 25 per seer. The tari revenue appears to have claimed increased attention between the years 1829 and 1831, in which latter year the Collector reports the interruption given to the abkari revenue by the unlimited cultivation of the toddy-tree. No one in Hooghly would take the 'toddy mehal' in farm. Although Regulation X of 1813 provided for the establishment of sudder distilleries, the outstill system was not abolished in the Hooghly district as late as the year 1845. In 1839 the Board called special attention to the advantages of the sudder distillery system, and also forwarded a printed account, with drawings, of the working of the distillery at Chitpore, which had proved to be a great success. The introduction of the distillery and the abolition of the farming system, and the appointment of an Abkari Superintendent—

Mr. W. B. Bennet—in 1840 mark an entirely new departure in excise administration, the effects of which are clearly visible on the figures given on page 86. The police were ordered to assist the excise-officers, and the latter were to have 25 per cent on their net collections. Cash was to be taken in lieu of security at the time of sale: distillers were to be restricted to the limit of 50 seers fixed by Regulation X of 1813, and to be no longer allowed to make as much liquor as they pleased: circulars were issued to zemindars and indigo-planters warning them of the penalties for illicit stills found on their lands, and asking their co-operation in putting them down: increased attention was given to obtaining suitable sites for shops, and the necessary land, if not procurable by private arrangement, was to be acquired under Regulation I of 1824. (123. V. 28-10-40.) The localities fixed upon for the sudder distilleries were: (1) Tribeni,* (2) Bhadreswar, (3) Dewangunj (Bali), (4) Dhaniakhali, (5) Bagnan, and (6) Rajbalhat. The area supplied by each of these distilleries was constituted an excise division, to which were appointed a darogah on Rs. 50, a mohurir on Rs. 15, a jemadar on Rs 8, and two chaprasis on Rs. 5 each: total Rs. 83. The pay of the Superintendent was Rs. 300 rising to Rs. 500. He had a native assistant, Rajendra Nath Mitter, on Rs. 120, and his office establishment was—sherishtadar Rs. 40, clerk Rs. 30, mohurir Rs. 15, jemadar Rs. 8, two chaprasis Rs. 10: total Rs. 103.

The introduction of the new system sketched out above provoked the most determined opposition on the part of the abkars. Led by Bhagwan and Nabu Shaha, the two principal abkars of Chinsurah, who had all the poorer abkars in their debt and power, they refused to bid for the shops at the first new settlement. They could not or would not pay in their arrears, and if threatened with punishment under section 7, clause 4 of Regulation VII of 1824, bolted to the foreign settlements or to other districts where the outstill system was still in full force, *e.g.*, Midnapore and Bankoorah. The consequence was that many of the shops had to be held *khas*, not seldom at a loss. The ganja and opium farmer, who had hitherto paid Rs. 16,789 yearly for both, threw up his lease, and the Superintendent had to sell both these articles khas.

In certain parts of Howrah and Jehanabad outstills were allowed, in consequence of the difficulty of communication, in addition to the sudder distilleries; and this practice, allowed as a special case only, appears to have gradually established itself all over the district. The Excise Superintendent of the 24-Parganas complains of the "unprecedented atrocity" of the smuggling which this laxity had led to, and the final result was the establishment of the sudder distillery at Mahiari instead of at Bagnan. These outstills are called by the Superintendent "small," or "subsidiary," distilleries, but they were erected at the cost of the abkars, and were in reality outstills and nothing else. The distilleries were much interfered with by the outstills of bordering districts, and in this respect history repeated itself only a few years ago.

The excise arrangements made when we took over Serampore in 1845 may be briefly mentioned here.

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* Afterwards removed to Keota.

The Danish excise revenue of Serampore was all farmed out at the following yearly *jama*. For country spirits Rs. 4,330, for European liquor Rs. 50, for tari Rs. 210, ganja Rs. 201, opium Rs. 1,025, betel-nut and tobacco Rs. 1,345. Spirits had to be sold only at licensed shops. The opium-farmer could buy opium wherever he liked, and sell it at his own price. The above engagements were continued by the English to the end of their terms, but the opium-farmer, on being required to take only Government opium, gave up his lease and the drug which he had in stock. For this he received compensation. He bought it at Rs. 10 a seer as against Rs 26, the price of the Government opium. It was of inferior quality, and evidently smuggled from Behar.

There was a very large business between the years 1820 and 1840 in the manufacture of rum after the European system.

The first rum distillery in the district was built at Bandel in 1810 by Mr. Nickels. The Prior complained of the building as likely to lead to riot and drinking, but his objection was overruled. The rum made at this distillery was not only supplied to the troops, but exported to Europe and Australia. In 1820, 5,000 gallons, paying a duty of Rs. 1,300, were shipped in the ship *Triton* for New South Wales. The Commissariat bought the rum from Mr. Nickels at 10 annas and sold it in the canteen at Rs. 2 per gallon. His business seems to have prospered to the extent of often requiring extra stills. His sales were—in 1828, 25,377 gallons; in 1829, 61,028; in 1830, 1,102; and in 1831, 3,091. In 1832 he complains of the interference of the Calcutta police with his sales to the shopkeepers of Radha Bazar, and says he has 18,000 gallons unsold in consequence. Meantime many rival distilleries had sprung up, established chiefly with European capital and under European management. Among these were:—

Bullubhpore,	owned	by	W. Woollen, late c.s.
Ditto "Pagoda"		„	W. Graves
Paddamdanga	„	„	Elberling, late Danish Secretary.
Dhangoory	„	„	Carr, Tagore and Co.
Rishra	„	„	G. Macnair.
Connagore			
Bankipore	„	„	Jerdon.
Chandernagore	„	„	Fressanges.

The excise establishment kept up at these distilleries was paid for by the proprietors, and before any rum was passed out it had to be certified by the Collector as under:—

"The rum or rumshrub . . . . . is the produce of the district of Hooghly, and is declared to be free from any admixture of spirits manufactured from other substances than the sugarcane, and that the importation of foreign sugar and rum . . . . . is prohibited in the said district."

Owing to the fall in the price of the rum exported to Europe the trade seems to have been ruined about 1840.

Such excise statistics as I have been able to collect are given below, together with a table showing the comparative cost of distillery materials in 1841 and 1881.

Excise Revenue of the Hooghly District.

Year.	Revenue.	Explanations, &c.
	Rs.	
1824-25	38.828	Spirits 35.385, ganja 2,279, opium 1,162.
1825-26	39.586	„ 36,101, „ 2.277, „ 1,207.
1826-27*	52.600	„ 46.265, „ 3.292, „ 3,043,*
1827-28	58.534	„ 52,010, „ 3,500, „ 3,024.
1828-29	45.893	
1829-30	45,634	Between this year and 1835-36 there were 129 outstills, 36 ganja, 10 opium, and 13 tari shops.
1830-31	47,533	
1831-32	47.079	
1832-33	39,017	Falling off from this year due to losses of crop, &c., by severe floods.
1833-34	35,213	
1834-35	36,234	Five shops relinquished.
1835-36	34,095	Four ditto.
1836-37	.....	Five ditto.
1837-38	38,890	Of this Rs. 8,227 opium and ganja. Number of shops :—Country spirits 128, tari 11, rum 1, European liquor 6, sidhi 1, ganja 1, opium 1.
1838-39	37,779	Spirits 31,132, ganja 2,998, opium 3,649.
1839-40	39,960	Consumption of opium 3 maunds 35 seers 6½ chuttacks.
1840-41	54,605	Sudder distillery system introduced, and Abkari Superintendent appointed. Many shops held khas.
1841-42	.....	
1842-43	67.747	Opium consumed 8 maunds 8 seers.
1843-44	69,711	Country spirit 50,045, tari 4,180, rum 915, ganja 6,096, opium 7,878, miscellaneous 597.
1844-45	62.935	
1845-46	63,190	
1880-81 to 1887-88 yearly average	3,66.673	These figures are given for comparison.

* Includes Chinsurah.

Cost of making 6 *gallons of country-spirit* 30 *U. P.*

Details.	Cost in 1841.			Cost in 1881.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
One maund khajuria kotra goor	1	6	6	2	4	0
One seer chanchi goor	0	1	1½	0	2	0
Bakurgolis for fermenting	0	0	6	0	0	3
One maund firewood	0	3	0	0	4	0
Labour	0	2	0	0	2	6
Dryage and wastage	0	1	4½	0	0	9
Total ...	1	14	6	2	13	6

THE SALT DEPARTMENT.

On the acquisition of the Dewani by the East India Company in 1765, the inland salt trade (with betel-nut and tobacco) was vested in an exclusive Company for the benefit of their European servants, who enjoyed the profits of the concern in lieu of salary. The regulations of September 1766 fixed the price at which salt should be sold to the natives at Rs. 200 per 100 maunds, and prohibited its sale on these terms to any but the natives. The Government realised a duty of 50 per cent on the value of the salt manufactured. This arrangement was abolished by the orders of the Court of Directors in October 1768. The manufacture was then thrown open to native merchants and zemindars, restrictions being imposed to prevent any monopoly. In 1772 it was determined, 1st, that the salt in every part of the province should be on the same footing: 2nd, that it should be made for the East India Company: and 3rd, that the *khalaries* or manufactories in each district should be farmed out for 5 years.

By the conditions of the farm, a certain quantity of salt was to be delivered at a stipulated price, and was then to be dealt out at a fixed price to the native conductors of the inland trade, who had agreed beforehand to aid the farmers by advances of money for the payment of the labourers or lower classes of manufacturers. This arrangement was modified in July 1777 by the salt being left to the disposal of the farmers. In September 1780 the system was again changed, as it had not proved financially successful. Salt agencies were established, under the supervision of which all salt was to be manufactured for the Company and sold for cash at fixed and moderate rates, to be ascertained and published at the beginning of every season by the Governor-General in Council. Under this system, which was still in force in 1795, the period from which this history begins, and under it the total salt revenue of the province had risen from 4 lakhs of rupees in 1780 to nearly 12 lakhs in 1812. (*Fifth Report of Parliamentary Select Committee*, vol I, 1812.)

But little information is available in the old records regarding this branch of the revenue; but that Hooghly was, under the Mogul Government, the most important receiving and distributing mart for salt (like Bhadreswar at the present day), is clear from article 5 of the treaty with Nujam-ul-Dowlah executed in 1765, which stipulates that although all the East India Company's goods and merchandise were to continue free from all tolls and duties whatsoever, salt was to pay a duty of 2½ per cent, and that this duty was to be calculated on the "rowana, or *Hooghly market*, price."

Up to 1826 the salt monopoly and trade was probably managed from Calcutta by the Board of Salt, Customs, and Opium. In 1826, however, the salt *chaukis* of Badureah, Hobrah (*sic*)—probably Howrah or Sulkea—Gobardanga, and Mullickbagh, were made over to the Collector of Hooghly with an allowance of Rs. 200 per mensem. (17. V. 21-7-26.) In 1832 four Europeans, named Martin, Hughes, Manuel, and Tydd, appear to have committed a series of exactions, oppression, and extortion of various kinds. These individuals, "self-constituted salt-officers," as they are called by the Collector, engaged a large staff of peons, whom they provided with uniform and badges, and

went about the country ostensibly searching for illicit salt for the sake of the reward granted to informers under Regulation XI of 1806. The only penalty prescribed by the Regulation for conduct of the kind was the "severe displeasure of Government." The Collector proposed special legislation to meet such cases, but the Governor in Council did not consider it necessary, and ordered the peons' badges to be taken away and their masters to be prosecuted in the ordinary Criminal Courts. I do not find the result of the prosecution. (38. V. 17-5 32.) Unlimited and open illicit manufacture and smuggling appear to have gone on about this time with the connivance of the preventive officers and the police. There were unprecedented accumulations of salt in the golahs, and the golahdars could not sell their stocks. At the same time the price of salt, instead of being enhanced, was unusually low. Before the year 1829 the annual consumption was 47 lakhs of maunds, but had fallen since that year to 44 lakhs. The smuggling was most extensive in the south of the district, and it was strongly suspected that the traders who bought Government salt at the sales in Calcutta were chiefly concerned in it, and that they smuggled illicit salt into the Upper Provinces *viâ* Ghattal and the Jungle Mehals. (174.V. 1-6-35.) The Government was much exercised in the matter, and even went so far as to hint that if the salt revenue continued to fall off they would be obliged to reduce the salaries of their officers all round to make up the deficiency! The Magistrates and police were ordered to make special efforts to put a stop to the illicit manufacture and sale (122. V. 27-4-34), zemindars and others were warned by proclamation against illicit dealings in salt, and, finally, an European officer, Mr. Macleod, was appointed as Superintendent of the Salt *Chaukis* with head-quarters at Keerpoy. (60. V. 14-7-35.)

From the 1st July 1836 an important change of system was introduced. Instead of Government endeavouring to determine the wants of the country and to supply them by a quantity fixed at the beginning of each year, it was determined to try the principle of free demand and supply. The Government salt was to be sold at a fixed price per 100 maunds, fixed on the average of the ten previous years (60. V. 7-4-36), and Government golahs, to hold about 50,000 maunds each, were to be built at the principal marts in the district. Bhadreswar was selected as the best site in Hooghly, as it was then, as now, by far the most important *gunj*. The Collector's estimate for such a golah was only Rs. 407, so that labour and materials must have been comparatively cheap in those days. I note below the prices of salt about this period:—

Date and year.	Wholesale price of panga per 100 maunds of sicca 82 tolahs.	Retail price, seers per rupee*
	Rs.*	
December 1830	430 to 475	8½ to 9
May 1837	420 to 480	8 to 9½

* See also page 97.

The price was naturally highest in thanas such as Pandua and Dhaniakhalli, which are not traversed by any navigable waterways, while it was cheapest in Bydyabati, Ghattal, and Ampta. Panga salt was chiefly consumed, the karkatch being only purchased for the purpose of adulterating the former. Special weights were used, varying from sicca 82 tolahs, used by the wholesale merchants, to 72, 62, and even 60 tolahs retail. The seers of 80 or 96 tolahs were not in general use for salt. (176. V. 15-5-37.)

POUNDS.

The first complaint as regards the damage done by cattle-trespass was made in June 1795 by Mr. R. Chapman, an indigo-planter at Chattagunj, in the thana of Chanderconah. He complains very bitterly of the damage done to his indigo "*weed*" by stray cattle, and asks that the darogah of the above thana may be authorised to seize such cattle, sell them, and from the proceeds recoup him the amount of damage done. These complaints were constantly reiterated by the European planters and zemindars of the district up to 1830, when Regulation V of that year was passed, but for the protection of indigo only. A pound was in the same year established in Chinsurah at the request of the Military authorities, under the management of the two European constables stationed there. (26. V. 17-4-30.) In 1834 the serious damage done not only to indigo, but also to the rice and other crops of the cultivators generally, attracted the attention of the Judges of the Nizamut Adalat, and they submitted for report the draft of a Regulation on the subject, which followed very closely the lines of subsequent legislation. In the same year the police were ordered to seize, bring to the thana, and levy fines on all cattle caught in the act of trespassing on the Government embankments, the Superintendent of which had repeatedly represented in strong language the damage done to them by the cattle of the villagers. The pound receipts in 1836 and 1837 averaged Rs. 635, and the expenditure Rs. 460 per annum. The corresponding figures for 1886-87 are Rs. 8,037 and Rs. 34 in the district of Hooghly alone.

PUBLIC FERRIES.

Up to the end of the year 1828 the only public ferries under Government supervision in the Hooghly district were Fulta (1392), Tribeni (252), Nauserai (252), and Pursara (170). In 1829, Machua-bazar (518), and Sandeswartola (191) appear for the first time in the accounts. The figure in brackets represents the *jama* of each ferry. The total receipts from these ferries between September 1819 and December 1838 were Rs. 47,840, of which Rs. 24,205 was spent on establishment, boats, roads, &c., leaving a balance on the 1st January 1838 of Rs. 23,634. The surplus of 1820 was only Rs. 243, that of 1821 Rs. 631, that of 1827 Rs. 1,279, that of 1834 Rs. 2,454, while that of 1845 was no less than Rs. 86,420. The surplus proceeds appear to have been spent chiefly on the roads of Hooghly and its vicinity; but from the figures given above it would seem that the surplus had a tendency to increase at the cost of the public convenience.

In 1840 the list of public ferries had been considerably enlarged, and including those shown above was as follows:—

Fulta (2,935), Tribeni (837), Nauserai (692), Pursura (1,417), Machuabazar (672), Sandeswartola (355), to which were newly added Maheshrekha (4,470), Mankur (520), Baleshi (487), Gopigunj (592), giving a total revenue of Rs. 12,967, as against Rs. 2,776 in 1829.

This increase is evidence not only of improved administration, but of an enormous expansion of life, trade, and energy among the people. The compensation paid to the proprietors of Mandalghat for the Maheshrekha and Chandpore ferries was Rs. 32,000. (83. V. 2-12-40.) The ferries were then, as now, let out in farm. Burkundazes were stationed at each ghât to keep order and see to the observance of the rules—honoured, no doubt, more in the breach than the observance. The farmers provided boats except at Fulta, for which ferry five boats were built by Government in 1837. In this year the Magistrate writes that he is gradually replacing the farmer's by Government boats in order to improve their class and condition. (177. V. 20-4-38). Such boats, 33 × 9 × 3 feet, then cost from Rs. 485 to Rs. 887, and averaged Rs. 673.

The rates of toll in force in 1833 at Fultah and Pursurah are given below compared with those for 1883 :—

For	1833.	1883.
		Rs. A. P.
Passenger	10 gundas	0 1 0
Ditto with load	1 pan	0 1 6
Sheep and goats, each...	10 gundas	0 0 3
Cattle	2 annas	0 0 6
Do. loaded	3 „	0 1 0
Horses	6 „	0 6 0
Pony	2 „	0 3 0
Elephant	Rs. 3	1 8 0
Camel	12 annas	0 6 0
Palki and bearer	8 „	0 8 0
Carriage and pair	„ 1 8 „	3 0 0
Buggy and horse	„ 1	1 0 0

The rates at the other four ferries were only half of the above rates. (172. V. 22-6-33.)

Complaints of delay, extortion, and surcharge were very numerous, and the farmers and burkundazes appear to have done pretty much as they liked.

POST-OFFICE AND TELEGRAPHS.

The earliest notice I find of the postal arrangements of the district is in 1819, when the Magistrate reports that the provisions of section 10, Regulation XX of 1817, the parent of the present Zemindari Dawk Act and system, were not required in Hooghly, "as there is a sufficient number of paiks." The carriage of letters between Collectors, Commercial

Residents, excise and salt officers, and Moonsiffs was specially provided for in various Regulations between 1793 and 1817. In 1825, in making suggestions for the improvement of the postal service of the district, the Magistrate says that the two great defects of the system then existing were (1) the small pay of the dawk-moonshee (Rs. 16) and of his *addadar* (*sic*) (Rs. 5), and (2) the overloading of the dawk-runners, who could not consequently keep up the prescribed rate of speed of four miles an hour. He states further that two-thirds, if not three-fourths, of the letters and packages carried were on the Government service. (8. V. 3-6-25.) The mails for the Western Provinces were carried as late as 1830 by the old Benares road *viâ* Sulkea, Jehanabad, Bishenpore, and Bancoorah. The Grand Trunk Road, which was then under construction and called "the new route" to the North-Western Provinces, was tried, but given up in favour of the former. The Collector and his Assistant were in charge of the postal arrangements, the latter being styled Deputy Postmaster, and the former holding that office *ex officio*. (41. V. 13-9-30.) The Assistant Collector wanted to remove the Hooghly post-office to Chinsurah, where he resided; but instead of this the dawk-moonshee was made to live near the post-office. In 1836 the district officers seem to have been quite satisfied with the thana or zemindari dawk and the public mail services on the river Hooghly and the Grand Trunk Road by Burdwan to the Upper Provinces. The Collector says:—"The additional labour or expense occasioned by extending the system would not be met by any adequate benefit." (63. V. 20-12-36.) Contrast with this state of postal facilities the 62 post-offices now in Hooghly and 34 in the Howrah districts. In 1837 Dr. Thomas Wise, the Civil Surgeon, held the office of Deputy Postmaster in addition to many other offices. In 1843 a mail cart was started between Calcutta and Burdwan on the Grand Trunk Road. The contract for it was held by Mr. Hodges, whose complaints of detention at Fulta ferry were loud and frequent. (163. V. 25-2-43.) At his request the overhanging branches of the trees on the Grand Trunk Road were cut, as they obstructed the cart. The Nuddea mails were at this period carried *viâ* Fulta, Ghyretty, Hooghly, Balagarh, and Santipore. The passing of Act XVII of 1837 marked a further step in the progress of the post-office.

In 1818 a project was set on foot for an experimental Semaphore telegraph system between Calcutta and Chunar, with extension thence to Benares. The Collector was ordered to acquire land for the sites of the towers and for making bricks, and the Magistrate to give the help of the police in procuring supplies, &c. In 1821 Lieutenant Weston was in charge of the work, and a very difficult business he found it. (7. V. 13-4-21.) He was succeeded in 1825 by Captain Playfair, who appears to have completed the towers. He complains in a very indignant letter that a native of this district had ventured to claim compensation for the land taken for the Dilakhas Tower, whereas "throughout the whole line to the west not a single objection has been made to my occupying spots of land on which to build the towers." (20. V. 15-6-25.) The experiment appears to have been a failure, and to have been abandoned before 1830. Some of the towers were in that year utilised by the officer in charge of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India. They do not appear to have

been finally abandoned until 1835, when, in order to save the cost of the pay of the tindals in charge, the iron work and other apparatus was removed, and the towers placed in charge of the zemindars and of the police. (174. V. 26-10-35.) I am told that a line of these towers is still standing between Chitpore and Barrackpore. In this district there are five—at Nalskul, Dilakhas, Hyatpore, Mobarakpore, and Navason—a line almost due west from Serampore to Jehanabad and thence to Bancoorah. I had never been able to discover the real object of the building of these towers until I came upon the correspondence regarding them in the old records.

CHAPTER V.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

CUSTOMS—TOLLS—FOREIGN TOWN DUTIES—PRICES AND WAGES—MANUFACTURES AND INDUSTRIES—TREASURY—CURRENCY.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

THE trade and commerce of Hooghly were renowned from the very earliest times. On the silting up of the mouth of the Sarasvati river the centre of the trade was removed from Satgaon to Hooghly. In Mr. J. Grant's *Analysis of the Finances of Bengal*, published at page 265 of volume I of the *Fifth Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company*, I find under the head of *sayer* the following entry, relating to the year A.D. 1728 :—

"*Bukshbunder or Hooghly.*—The ground rents of 37 markets and gunges, chiefly in the vicinity and dependent on the European settlements in the chuckleh of Satgong, together with the customs levied on goods passing *that grand emporium of foreign commerce*, in all Rs. 3,42,708; deduct from which already included under the head of Calcutta Rs. 44,767, making *net* Rs. 2,97,941."

The early importance of Hooghly in regard to the river-borne trade is proved by the above extract. Fifty years later the trade had almost completely deserted it in favour of Calcutta; the gross collections on account of port duties and customs being only Rs. 91,196 at Hooghly, against Rs. 8,90,604 at the latter. Moorshedabad, Dacca, and Patna all gave a larger customs revenue than Hooghly. The English first began to trade in 1640, when, through the intervention of Mr. Boughton, a surgeon who had cured some of the members of the Royal family, they obtained permission to erect factories at Hooghly and also at Balasore. In the various treaties and engagements made with the Emperors and Mahomedan Governors of Bengal between 1640 and 1765 (the date of the cession to the English of the Dewani of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa), stipulations are constantly found removing all restrictions on their trade and forbidding any interference with it. I do not, however, find any records on the subject in the Hooghly Collectorate of earlier date than 1795. In that year the East India Company had residencies or factories at the following places :—(1) Golagore (*sic*) (near Magra), (2) Keerpoy, (3) Hurripal, and (4) Radnagore (*sic*). The boundaries between the jurisdiction of (1) and (3), and of Santipore was the road then passing from Nauserai through Golagore to Burdwan.

Each resident was bound to confine his transactions within his own boundaries. The residents used to furnish the Magistrate with lists of their weavers, silk-growers, and other employés (Regulation XXXI of 1793), and are constantly complaining of their absconding with the advances made to them. Silk and cotton cloths appear to have been the chief articles of manufacture, and each residency had numerous out-factories subordinate to it. Lac was made at Keerpoy, and from Goosery (Howrah) a Mr. Samuel Clark writes in March 1796 that he had been employed by the Honorable Company "for the past 2 years in receiving, packing, and screwing *paut* and *sun* (*sic*) for England." Again, in July 1797 Mr. James Frieshard writes to the Judge and Magistrate to ask him to excuse the attendance of "Cali Persad Lahory, who has charge of our cotton screws at Sulkeah, where we have just received 4,000 maunds from the Board of Trade with orders to begin upon it on Tuesday." (2. V. 9-3-96.) Mr. C. Touchet, the Commercial Resident of Radhanagar, writing in 1795, calls Ghattal "the port of Keerpoy, Chandercona, and Dewangunj," and says that between the months of January and May 800 laden bullocks pass daily along the plain between Ghattal and Burda—a statement which shows very great activity in inland as well as in river-borne trade. In November 1798, 14 Frenchmen, two Americans, one German, and a few Dutch are stated to have been engaged in trade, chiefly in indigo. The jute or hemp trade, too, seems to have assumed considerable proportions since its first mention in 1796. In July 1810 the Resident of Golagore factory writes thus:—

"The sunn ryots dependent on this factory have already begun to make surreptitious sales of their sunn in the bazars and hauts throughout the district. The demand for this article is at present so great for the purpose of making Bengal paper and canvas, and the price so very high, that the ryots will be constantly on the watch to sell for their own profit an article which they had already sold by receiving advances for it and by entering into engagements to deliver it on account of His Majesty's Government."

I cannot find any record of the dates of establishment of these factories, but that they were by no means of recent origin appears from a letter of 1822 from the Resident at Harripal, in which he says that the factory of that place was formerly situated at Rajbalhat, and was removed thence 30 years ago, adding that "the oldest people do not recollect the time the factory was built." (10. V. 24-8-22.) The cloth factories in the Hooghly district were gradually abolished, and the buildings and sites were sold off between 1830 and 1836. The silk filatures in the Midnapore district appear to have been kept on for some time longer. The commercial concerns of the Company were gradually wound up by the Board of Salt, Customs, and Opium, and the post of Resident appears to have been abolished about 1830. (57. V. 18-2-36; Board's No. 11.) The cause of this collapse was the competition of the Manchester cotton goods, which the Collector says could be sold at *less than half* the price of the cloths made at the Company's factories. The native cloth industry still struggles on in this district, but it cannot survive for many more years, and most of the weavers have already taken to other pursuits and become absorbed in the general population.

I give below the Collector's figures for the district trade between 1819 and 1833. (V. 142.)

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
	2,17,141	37 82,655	39,99,796
	3.58.880	45,43.776	49,20,656
	4.08.853	31.17.421	35.26.274
	8 06.447	31.83,099	39.89,546
	7,75.251	31.86 721	39.61.972
	8.59.695	33.84.380	42.44,075
	11.01.344	42.56,727	53,58,071
	11.37.556	47.48.414	58,85,970
	11.07.779	24.23.852	35,31,631
	11.31,607	53.74,921	65,06,528
	10,67 224	37,76.866	48,44,090
	10.32,846	52.79.292	63,12.138
	7.10.086	44.53 684	51.63,770
	7.89.565	43,06,892	51,05,457
	8.98,703	60,42,787	69,41,490
Total ...	1.24,02.977	6,18,61,487	7,42,91,464
Average ...	8,26,865	41,24,099	49,52,764

As there was a Custom House at Hooghly, these figures are perhaps more reliable than modern returns of the same nature. A separate officer was stationed as Collector of Customs at Hooghly until 1827, when the duties were amalgamated with those of the Collector of Land Revenue. (27. V. 17-8-27.) They were altogether abolished in 1837, at a considerable loss to Government, in order to put a stop to the systematic oppression practised when the Customs laws were in force. (123. V. 20-2-43.) A letter of 1837 speaks of the "abolition of the Customs *chaukis*, whereby 12 peons, who nearly belted the foreign settlement of Chinsurah, were removed." (65. V. 20-9-37.) The duties of the office are described as being "extremely light . . . . . and are likely to be rendered much less important by the extension of the bonding system, which will naturally dispose the merchants to take out at Calcutta the *rowanahs* required for goods destined to be exported, on which so large a proportion of the Hooghly collections have hitherto been realised."

FOREIGN TOWN DUTIES—TOLLS.

Besides that of customs, the Collector supervised the collection of the foreign town duties, averaging about Rs. 260 a month, and of the river-tolls. On both he received a commission, which added considerably to his salary, and we consequently find him making an urgent protest against the loss which the abolition of the former and the transfer in 1841 of the river-toll station at Ranaghat to the charge of Captain W. Smyth, the Superintendent of the Nuddea Rivers, caused him. The average yearly collections made at the above station by the Collector of Hooghly between 1830 and 1840 was Rs. 21,403. (148. V. 21-9-41.) The system of check on the Toll Collectors observed during the above period does not appear to have been a very strict or effective one. The registers of collections were sent to the Collector

every three days, a book was kept in which all European travellers were requested to enter the amounts paid by them: receipts were to be given to those asking for them, and one of the Collector's amla was occasionally deputed to make local inquiries.

PRICES AND WAGES.

In Appendix E is given a table showing the prices of food-grains between the years 1793 and 1813 as ascertained by the Collector in 1814 from the principal native grain-merchants of Hooghly. These figures are perhaps quite as reliable as more modern statistics of the same kind. Considerable fluctuations are naturally enough found during the period of 29 years which they cover, but they do not show any considerable and general rise, such as has taken place during the last 30 years. This is, no doubt, due to the absence of any great improvements in roads and other facilities for the distribution of the produce of various parts of the country, and to the absence of any large export trade.

The general average prices per maund deduced from the table in the appendix are (per maund of 82 sicca weight)—Rice Re. 1-5-6, dâl Re. 0-15-6, gram Re. 0-14-6, wheat Re. 0-13-9, and mustard seed Re. 1-5 3. Subsequent price-lists show a considerable tendency to rise, thus—

Article.	Price per maund.		
	1821 to 1823.	1832 to 1834.	Average.
	R. A. P.	R. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Coarse rice	1 10 6	1 8 6	1 9 6
Kalai dâl	1 11 6	1 0 6	1 6 0
Arhar „	2 1 3	1 14 3	1 15 9
Gram	1 6 3	1 4 0	1 5 0

In 1809 the prisoners in the jail could feed themselves on an allowance of 2 pan and 10 gundahs of cowries daily, and the diet-money allowed by the Courts to "indigent prosecutors and witnesses" was only one ana. The origin of the *nirikh-náma*, or fixed price-list, the tradition of which still survives, was probably the order of the Governor-General in Council in April 1812 that a table of the prices of the principal articles of supply should be kept at each thana. This order was issued in consequence of the numerous complaints, both on the side of the troops and of the zemindars, regarding the arrangements for the supply of *rasad* to the former. The object was further declared to be "to secure to the vendors a just price for the articles furnished by them." If the darogahs had the framing of these tables, the benefit to the sellers may appear somewhat problematical. The following rates and prices may also prove interesting for comparison with those of later periods:—

In 1832.—Boats of 200 maunds Rs. 27 per mensem: of 1,000 maunds Rs. 94. A *pansi* or row-boat for the trip from Chinsurah to

Calcutta: with two oars Re. 0-8, with three oars Re. 0-12, with four oars Re. 1. A boat for baggage not exceeding 200 maunds Re. 1-4. One boatman was formally appointed by the Commanding Officer as *ghât manji* to the garrison, and soldiers were not allowed to use any boats but his.

Bamboos per 100, Rs. 12-8.
Rope per maund, Rs. 5.
Durma mats per score, Re. 1.
Thatching straw per *kahan*, Rs. 8.
Coolies 1½ to 2 anas per diem.

In the Magistrate's tour-bill for January 1843 coolies are charged at 4 anas and bullock carts at 8 anas per diem, both being difficult to procure. When carts were required for the troops, they had to be got from Calcutta, most of the internal district trade being, in the absence of good roads, carried by pack-bullocks, Some wholesale prices of salt have been given on page 88. I give below the retail prices for 1832 and 1833 per maund. (50. V. 21-12-33.)

	1832.	1833.
	R. A. P.	R. A. P.
Highest	4 4 3	3 15 6
Lowest	4 3 0	3 13 6
Average	4 3 6	3 14 6

MANUFACTURES AND INDUSTRIES.

During the period reviewed in these pages the principal industries and manufactures of the district were either carried on under direct European management and supervision or with advances made by European capital. The existence of the Company's factories and residences from the middle of the seventeenth to the first decade of the nineteenth century effectually put a stop to all private enterprise and to the employment of European capital except in indigo. In their character as traders, the East Indian Company and their officers were naturally jealous of all "interlopers," as they called non-official Europeans, and none could settle in the mofussil without the special permission of the Governor-General. The abolition of the commercial residencies in 1838 was the first step towards the opening up of the district to private enterprise. There were pioneers before that date, but they received as little encouragement and countenance as possible. The principal industry to which Europeans first directed their attention was indigo, and after it to sugar and rum, chintz, and canvas. Factories of these were to be found on the western bank of the river Hooghly early in the beginning of the present century. Sir William Jones, the great oriental scholar, was the founder of the prosperity of Howrah, where he started a canvas manufactory in 1810. The first dock at Howrah was built in 1796, but by 1820 there were several;

and the business importance of the place increased rapidly from the latter date. It was Sir William Jones, too, who first discovered coal in the Burdwan district. He also designed and commenced the building of Bishop's College, and by a fever contracted while superintending this building he lost his life. To Mr. Prinsep is generally attributed the introduction of the culture of indigo and of the manufacture of it and of chintz. I now proceed to give what information is afforded by the records on each of the industries above alluded to.

SUGAR.

The sugar refineries have been described more fully under the head of excise (page 85), as they also distilled rum on the European method, and from it derived their chief profits. At Gauripore, opposite to Hooghly, Mr. Henry Piddington had in 1838 a factory for the manufacture of sugar and rum, the original site of which appears to have been some 12 cottahs of land, on which the East India Company had formerly established a branch of their Golagore residency, near Magra. He appears to have soon got into debt and difficulty, as we find him in the above year claiming the protection of the Magistrate of Hooghly for his life and property from one Mr. Colquhoun, who, on behalf of Messrs. Boyd and Co. of Calcutta, appears to have brought up a party of European sailors and to have seized the factory by force or show of force. It is said that the former occupants "retired precipitately at the sight of the European sailors," and we can well imagine that they did. Beyond sending immediate information to the Magistrate of Baraset, the Magistrate of Hooghly does not appear to have taken any action. On this site now stand the Gauripore Jute Mills, one of the most flourishing and best-managed enterprises in Lower Bengal.

SILK.

Until the sale of their factories and the winding up of their commercial affairs, the silk industry in this district was entirely monopolised by the East India Company. After the above events it fell into the hands of Messrs. Robert Watson and Co., to whose enterprise there is constant reference in the records. It is now a decaying industry, but such part of it as now survives is still chiefly in the hands of the above firm.

INDIGO.

This industry appears to have been introduced into the Hooghly district as early as 1780. In 1795 Regulation XXIII of that year was passed to regulate the relations between indigo-planters, the Government, and the ryots. This law was amended by Regulation VI of 1823, and again by Act X of 1836. It apparently did not, like the cloth and silk and jute industries, form one of the branches of trade in which the East India Company was itself directly engaged. In October 1795 Messrs. C. Blume and Joseph Barretts write to the Magistrate from *Sukhsagar* (now in the Nuddea district) to complain of "several new European adventurers" from Chandernagore cultivating indigo near their long-established works instead of buying and bringing into cultivation waste lands further off. The

"intruding manœuvres" of these men are spoken of as being carried on "under the cloak of the Bengalees." This appears to mean that as no European could hold land or reside in any district without the express permission of the Governor-General, these intruders had obtained lands *benamee* from certain native landholders. (10-10-95.) Interference of this kind with one another's factories and lands led to so many disputes and disorders that the Government early in 1800 passed a rule to the effect that no European should establish a new indigo factory in the neighbourhood of an old existing one. Applications to settle in the district for the purpose of growing indigo were referred in all cases to the Collector for report, in order that the above rule might not be infringed. It remained in force until 1830, when it was rescinded (42. V. 2-3-30), and all other restrictions not imposed or recognised by the Regulations appear also to have been removed. Indigo riots of a serious nature appear to have been few and far between, but the hostility of the Bengalees to this industry is constantly spoken of as very deep and bitter. In 1810 the factory of Mrs. Stephens was attacked at night by a large body of armed natives, who severely wounded her and four of her servants, while they killed two others outright. The motive of the outrage was alleged to be revenge for the oppressions of the factory servants. The assailants appear to have got off scotfree. In 1828 Mr. Charles Bennett, of Baldivie Factory, was attacked by 80 or 90 armed men, and barely escaped with his life. He had complained against his ryots for not sowing and weeding in accordance with the terms of their agreements under Regulation VI of 1823. In 1830 a serious riot occurred between the adherents of two rival factories in the Ghattal subdivision. Mr. N. Isaac complained against Mr. J. Manley for having come to his factory with 50 lattials and wounded one and killed another of his servants. Mr. Manley retorted that Mr. Isaac had interfered with the dam he had made across the river (Darkessar?) for irrigation. In 1835 Mr. Cashell, assistant to Mr. E. E. O'Brien, of Chanditolah factory, who had been sent to call some refractory riots to the cutcherry, was set upon and killed by them. In none of these serious cases do I find that any of the guilty parties were brought to justice in spite of the offer of large rewards and other modes of police enquiry which shall be nameless. I note below the names of some of the indigo factories in the Hooghly district, and of their owners or managers at various times :—

1822.	Bansberia Factory ...	J. B. Birch.
1827.	Ditto	Temple. (Took a lease of Bansberia char, 1,700 beeghas, at Re. 1 per beegha, of which 1,523 beeghas were actually sown with indigo.)
1832.	Ditto ...	Cruttenden, Mackillop & Co.
1829.	Hosnabad	Shircore.
1829.	Talda	A. Berg.
1830.	Do.	John White.
1830.	Gopigunj and Thakorani chak	Tiery.
1838.	Durgapore	Maclean. (Held Kotrang char at 8 annas a beegha.)
1839.	Kalkapore Factory ...	Warner.
1839.	Melliah ,, ...	James Smith.
1842.	Pygachi ,, ...	G. Gordon.

In 1841 there were 15 Europeans in the district—eleven engaged in indigo-planting and in the sugar, rum, and silk trades, and three in charge of coal depôts at Ampta. I also find mention of factories at the following places:—Mahdutpore, Rajapore, Sitapore, Sibaramputty, and Khanian, the latter of which was owned in 1830 by a Bengali named Duppoo Narayan Mookerjee.

CHINTZ.

This industry, of which I find mention as early as 1822, is said (like indigo) to have been originally introduced by Mr. Prinsep. In the above year Mr. J. Nasmyth had a chintz manufactory at Rishra, and there appears to have been one also at Champdani, a little higher up the river. Both are now the sites of large and thriving jute mills. At the former place Warren Hastings used often to reside: the latter was part of a rent-free grant made by the Nawab of Moorshedabad to Sir Eyre Coote. This industry, like that of the ordinary cloth-weaving, was ruined by the cheaper Manchester goods of the same kind. That of printing *bandaunas* or silk handkerchiefs had in 1845 taken its place, and Rishra was then owned by one Bisumber Sen and Champdani by Mr. W. Storm.

PAPER.

The district of Hooghly, which held such a prominent place in the history of education, and was the proud possessor of several printing-presses, including the first ever set up, and which was also the seat of a Mahomedan Soubahdar or Deputy Governor, was widely celebrated for its paper manufactories. Serampore gave its name to a kind of paper much used even at the present day, and some of the descendants of the original paper-makers still survive and follow the trade. The principal centres of the early paper manufacture were Pandua and Satgaon. Up to 1824 I find the Magistrate constantly asking the Collector of Customs at Hooghly to give him a free pass for paper from these places for the use of his office. In 1831 a permanent pass for a monthly supply of Rs. 48 worth of paper of three kinds from Satgaon is asked for. Pandua appears in 1838 to have eclipsed Satgaon, for the Magistrate reports that the paper made at the former is not only the best, but also the cheapest. The Magistrates of Sylhet and other districts were constantly asking the Magistrate of Hooghly to procure and send them paper from Pandua. When its manufacture was introduced into the jail at this and other stations, the doom of this industry was sealed; but it has lingered to the present day only to receive its final deathblow from the mills of Bally and Titagarh. After ceasing to take the paper made by private individuals, several Magistrates added insult to injury by writing for Hooghly paper-makers to teach the prisoners in their jails. As much as Rs. 20 per mensem was offered in some cases—an enormous salary in those early days—but not a soul would go. They were naturally enough too much incensed at the ruin of their own trade to take any step themselves in the same direction.

BRICKS.

Brick-making appears to have been a flourishing industry in the Hooghly district in early times, and the brick-makers to have had a

reputation far beyond their own homes. Colonel McLeod, the Superintendent of the Nizamut buildings in Moorshedabad, in 1830 indented on Hooghly for a supply of these artisans, and continued to engage them, year by year, until the palace was finished.

COFFEE.

In 1824 certain rules were passed by Government for granting lands to Europeans for the experimental cultivation of coffee, and in 1826 Mr. Gordon and Dr. Wallich appear to have started a plantation, but I cannot find where it was or what became of it.

TOBACCO.

In 1836 Chinsurah could boast of a cigar manufactory. The proprietors were Van Dyk & Co., and they write to complain of their refractory workmen, who were found to be making cigars for other people. They ask the Collector to let it be known that they can employ 200 on their premises and 200 outside, and are willing to give their employés a five-year engagement. They also complain against the ghat manjhi for charging them at higher rates than those paid by other people. (124. V. 14-12-36.)

MATTERS CONNECTED WITH THE TREASURY.

CURRENCY.

By article 3 of the treaty made with Suraj-ud-Dowlah in 1757, the English were allowed to establish a mint at Calcutta and to coin sicca rupees equal in weight and value to those coined by the Mahomedan Government at Moorshedabad. This sicca coinage continued to be legal tender up to the 31st December 1837, in accordance with a proclamation issued in 1836 under Act XVII of 1835. (80. V. 10-11-37.) This change in the currency, which began from the 1st September 1835, though the public accounts were not kept in Company's rupees until 1st May 1836, was not effected without considerable difficulty and inconvenience. In 1832 the treasury at Hooghly became "inundated with the old depreciated pice," and the Collector asks leave to remit it to Calcutta and to get new pice in exchange. The rate of exchange for the conversion by the public of sicca into Company's rupees was Rs. 95-11 of the former to Rs. 100 of the latter. In the adjustment of the public accounts Rs. 6-10-8 was added to each Rs. 100 of Company's rupees. (193. V. 17-10-35.) From a petition of the residents of Chinsurah presented to the Collector in February 1836, it appears that the Company's new coinage was not looked upon with favour by the merchants, shopkeepers, and others. The residents complain in the above petition that the money-changers not only demanded one anna as *bhatta* for changing a new Company's rupee into pice, but gave the change in the old depreciated pice, saying that they had none of the new. The zemindars also made the same demand on their ryots. The Officer Commanding the Depôt also complained on behalf of

the soldiers. (37. V. 28-9-36). It was only after repeated and urgent demands that the Collector was supplied, in November 1837, with Rs. 12,500 in pice and small change for their use. These complaints then ceased. In the mofussil matters did not fully right themselves until about 1840. The ryots paid their rents in Company's rupees at the rate of Rs. 106-10-8 for every Rs. 100 sicca, and the Collector points out that this is really equivalent to an increase of their rents, "because the copper currency having been equalised with the sicca and Company's rupee, the same number of pice is a legal tender for a Company or a sicca rupee. The ryots in their daily transactions in pice, whether for labour, corn, or vegetables, suffer a loss, inasmuch as a ryot who collects 64 pice by these means only gets credit for 15 anas in his rents." (65. V. 2-2-38.)

The various coins current in the Hooghly district in 1837 are shown below. (65. V. 10-7-37.)

Metal.	Description.	Remarks.
Copper ...	1. *Old* flat pice ... 2. *Old* thick-rimmed pice. 3. Trisooly (*sic*). 4. Company's ½ ana. ... 5. Ditto pice. 6. Ditto pie.	1, 2, and 5 were current throughout the district, 3 was obsolete since the previous year, 4 and 6 were only current at head-quarters. The Bazar rate of *bhatta* was one pice per rupee.
Silver ...	1. Moorshedabad sicca rupee. 2. Company's rupee. 3. Ditto 8 anas. 4. Ditto 4 anas.	1 and 2 in circulation throughout the district, but 1 being called in; 3 and 4 in constant circulation, but supply short of the demand.
Gold ...	1. Old sicca gold mohur 2. New ditto ditto. 3. Company's ditto.	1. Value Rs. 17-8. 2. Do. Rs. 16-5. 3. Do. Rs. 16-4, not yet in circulation in Hooghly; coined under Act XVII of 1835.

The issue of Company's notes by the Bank of Bengal, and the gradual withdrawal of the sicca notes, commenced in September 1837. As this process only concerned the most wealthy and intelligent classes, it does not appear to have given rise to any difficulty or complaints. The Collector, writing to the Accountant-General in 1843, says that the new currency has now become fairly established. The revenue of the district was about twelve lakhs of rupees, of which only four lakhs was paid in silver, the bulk being paid then, as now, in currency notes. The amount of copper coin in circulation ranges, he says, from Rs. 5,000 to Rs 10,000, but never exceeds the latter sum. Over Rs. 2,000 of copper coin had accumulated in the treasury, and gold coins were not practically in circulation at all. (112. V. 21-4-43.)

The following figures are very interesting as showing the gradual decrease of payments of Government revenue in specie and the corresponding increase in the use of notes:—

Year.	Paid in specie.	Paid in notes.	Total.
1821-22	7,77,743	2,61,256	10,38,999
1822-23	8,35,015	2,92,337	11,27,352
1823 24	5,70,238	4,54,453	10,24,691
1824 25	7,61,312	3,67,497	11,28,809
1825-26	7,76,551	3,50,594	11,27,145
1826-27	6,25,371	3,06,228	9,31,599
1827-28	7,54,181	4,48,488	12,02 669
1828-29	6,59,442	4,69,343	11,28,785
1829-30	6,60,101	4,77,293	11,37,394
1830-31	5,78,182	5,34,432	11,12,614
1831-32	4,90,866	5,40,914	10,31,780
1832-33	3,48 330	6,27,413	9,75,743
1833-34	2,84,478	5,85,379	8,69,857

With reference to these figures the Collector discourses somewhat mournfully on what he calls the "disappearance of the currency from circulation."

The following table bears on the same subject. (140. V. 24-4-35.)

Year.	Value of notes received from and issued to the public in payment of Government demands or dues.		In exchange for cash.		Remitted to Calcutta.
	Received.	Issued.	Received.	Issued.	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1831-32	15,76,022	4,43,095	23,939	96,131	9,70,842
1832-33	17,27,160	5,02,280	28,919	62,209	12,32,658
1833-34	14,57,475	4,05,218	27,121	61,791	11,06,425
1835-36	18,99,802	3,24,557	13,228	32,183	14,52,792
					1,30,000†
Compare 1835-36	16,92,900	12,58,440	8,01,035	2,29,305	10,24,580
	*1,16,305	.....	.....	.....	.....

These figures are also interesting as showing that while the receipts of currency notes in payment of Government demands and the remittances to Calcutta have been almost stationary, the receipts and issues in exchange for cash have enormously increased, while the payment of Government dues in notes is also about three times what it was fifty years ago.

* Bank Post Bills.

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

The appointment of Treasurer does not appear to have been so sought after sixty years ago as it is now. The Collector, writing in May 1827, reports that this post in the Hooghly district had been vacant since August 1823, and that he had "almost hawked the appointment about" without getting any one to take it, and that the sherishtadar had been doing the work in addition to his own. The small amount of the pay (Rs. 50) and the large amount of security demanded, viz. landed property with a *sudder jama of Rs.* 28,000! was not likely to lead to any other result. It was not until these conditions were modified that an incumbent of the post was secured. (133. V. 23-5-27.)

In 1833 the privilege of using the Government Savings Bank was extended from Military officers, to whom it was at first confined, to all Government Civil Servants whatsoever, European and native.

Two cases of embezzlement deserve notice; one on account of the largeness of the amount, the other owing to the unusual nature of the case. The first case was brought to light in 1837, and covered a period of five years, beginning with September 1832, when the offices of Judge and Magistrate were separated. No less than Rs. 16,023 was embezzled from sums paid to Government under the heads of fines, ferry funds, and escheats. On comparing the registers of the above items with the Treasury books, it was found that the above sum had been misappropriated by the mohurirs concerned, who had paid in only a part of the sums realised. The absolute want of supervision by the Magistrate and Treasurer alone rendered this fraud possible. The defalcation was made good by the latter, but I do not find that there was any successful prosecution of the guilty parties. (177. V. 14-11-37.)

The other case happened as follows: A roll of notes, to the value of Rs. 1,235, had been placed for safe custody under double lock in a tin box. The Collector, Mr. D. J. Money, had occasion to open this box for some other purpose. On the notes being required, they were not in the box. The Collector states that he had a sort of recollection of seeing the Treasury mohurir fumbling with something near the box on a previous occasion, but did not think he would dare to abstract the notes from under his very eyes. Nothing was proved against the mohurir, and the Treasurer had to pay up the money. The Collector plaintively speaks of the dread he has been in during the last four months "of having on account of some roguery of the amlah of this office to pay up some enormous sum out of my officiating salary of Rs. 91-10-8 per mensem." Most district officers have no doubt often and constantly experienced the unpleasant sensation that they are sleeping on a volcano, and may awake at any time to find themselves personally and pecuniarily responsible for some embezzlement of public funds for which they are theoretically liable, but over which they have no time to exercise really strict supervision and control.

GUARDS AND ESCORTS.

The duties of guarding the Treasury and of escorting remittances of treasure were at first performed by the *Sebundi* corps. When it was disbanded in 1803, its place was taken by the Calcutta native militia

under European officers, with the denomination of the Provincial Battalion. This last was disbanded in November 1831, and it was succeeded by a special force of burkundazes (now called constables), composed chiefly of the members of the disbanded force, at a monthly cost of Rs. 124. They were allowed to retain their dress, arms, and accoutrements, "as it flatters their feelings, and is more imposing than the dress of a burkandaz." (147. V. 22-10-38.) This force could escort remittances up to the value of Rs. 5,000, but any amount over and above that sum required a detachment of regular troops, as the burkundazes were said to be "worse than useless in local disturbances, and would run away at the first attack. Thirty or forty lattials are more than a match for all the burkundazes in the Hooghly district." (178, V. 26-11-38.) By 1845 the "imposing appearance" above spoken of had entirely disappeared, as the uniform and arms had never been changed. The muskets were only serviceable at the butt end, and the *personnel* of the Treasury guard is described as a "ridiculously awkward squad." The Collector sent it to be inspected and reviewed by the Commissioner, then on tour at Hooghly, and says in his letter that to be thus armed and clothed "not only depresses the spirits and lowers the respect of the guard, but endangers the safety of the treasure." As the burkandazes only got Rs. 4 each as their monthly pay, they could hardly be expected to remedy this state of affairs for themselves. (117. V. 14-2-45.) The Commissioner, however, did nothing.

STAMPS.

The early arrangements at the Treasury for the sale of stamps to the public appear to have been anything but satisfactory. The Collector in 1827 speaks of the public being "disappointed, harassed, and disgusted" at the want of facilities to procure them. Instead of sale by two paid mohurirs on Rs. 10 each at Hooghly and Chinsurah, he proposes to try a commission of one ana in the rupee.

This on the actual sales would, he says, give a little over Rs. 10 per mensem to each of the two vendors. (128. V. 6-10-27.)

This plan appears to have been tried, for in 1830 I find that all stamp-vendors were paid by a commission of 1 per cent at head-quarters and 4 per cent in the interior. The head-quarters and mofussil vendors, however, appear to have combined to get the 4 per cent commission, as the mofussil sales rapidly increased, while the sudder sales fell off in the same ratio. (135. V. 19-6-30.) Even as late as 1842 the sales by three vendors at head-quarters were only Rs. 35,298 as against the sales by 40 mofussil vendors of Rs. 50,228. (112. V. 3-1-4.) The stamp-vendors, instead of paying cash, as now, took stamps on credit and gave security for their value. There was constant trouble in realising the sums due from them under this system, and in 1840 it was found that a sum of no less than Rs. 21,197 was due from vendors, whose property pledged as security had been sold up without covering the deficit. This sum was placed to the personal debit of Mr. Trower, the Collector, who was held to be responsible for the deficiency in the securities taken by him (83. V. 6-5-40) but was subsequently, after a long correspondence, written off. In 1845 a radical change of system took place, stamps being issued to vendors for cash and not on

credit. The stamps in the hands of the vendors being called for with their accounts, defalcations were discovered to the extent of over Rs. 20,000. For this the stamp darogah was held to be responsible, and was ordered to be prosecuted under Regulation II of 1813. One Collector, Mr. W. H. Belli, was held personally liable unless the amount should be recovered from the darogah and the sureties of the vendors; another Collector, Mr. D. J. Money, was censured for not making a thorough scrutiny of the accounts before the change of system took place. The head-clerk (Mr. Twemlow) was made to resign, and the sheristadar, the meer moonshee, and a mohurir were dismissed, as being all more or less responsible for, or concerned in, the matter. The fears and predictions of Mr. Money, alluded to on page 102, appear to have been realised.

CHAPTER VI.

ROADS AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS, EMBANKMENTS AND OTHER PUBLIC WORKS.

GENERAL STATE OF COMMUNICATIONS.

At the time of the assumption of the Dewani in 1765 the district of Hooghly had not a road worthy of the name. It is true that there were tracks, which were dignified by the name of roads; but they were, as a rule, strips of land set aside at the various settlements for the purpose of public traffic. Metalling and raising were unknown, and where there was a bridge, it was due rather to the generosity and public spirit of some wealthy individual than to the Government of our predecessors. The fact probably was that the unrivalled water communications of the large rivers and tidal creeks of the district rendered any roads unnecessary in their opinion. The internal inland traffic of the district was carried on by pack-bullocks and by coolies, the centres of all trade being on the banks of the rivers, whence it was distributed to and from the interior. In 1796 the Court of Circuit called the attention of the Governor-General to the wretched state of the communications by land and to the serious encroachments made by zemindars and cultivators on the tracks set apart as roads. Had this evil been guarded against and existing tracks properly demarcated at the time of this complaint, I have no doubt that the present state of the roads would be very much better than it is, and that there would be many more than there are at the present day. Hundreds and thousands of beeghas of road lands must have disappeared since the above letter was written, and the evil still exists and requires constant watchfulness and a strong hand to check it. In 1815 a similar representation was made to Government by the Superintendent of Police of the Lower Provinces. He also begged that a penal provision might be enacted to compel landholders to destroy the jungle or underwood on the edges of the high roads. The Government refused to issue any orders on the subject, considering that "the influence of the Magistrate should be sufficient, if executed with discretion and conciliation." In February 1830, after making an extensive tour of the district, the Magistrate of Hooghly reports that, with the exception of the Old Benares, Grand Trunk, and Midnapore roads, with which considerable progress had then been made,—"I encountered nothing deserving the name of a road. Thoroughfares are even frequently entirely obliterated, and I have made my way in succession to several villages over no better path than a ridge through intervening paddy-fields. Wealthy individuals do not contribute unless they take a request as an order. Such a person can entertain no enlarged view of the subject, and he is not likely to volunteer or cordially co-operate in systems of expenditure for

benefits prospective. Any contribution by them would be more than realised by a cess on the cultivators." (36. V. 12-2-30)

He considers that a regulation to compel the zemindars to keep in repair all the roads running through their lands would "meet with the general approbation of the most respectable landed proprietors in the country." The soundness of this opinion may be questioned, and the Government certainly did not accept it.

In the year 1830 the principal roads or routes were :—

(1) From Bally to Culna *viâ* Inchura, and thence to Moorshedabad.
(2) The Grand Trunk Road from Hooghly towards the North-Western Provinces *viâ* Burdwan.
(3) Chanditola to Khatul or Old Benares road.
(4) Ulabaria to Midnapore and thence to Cuttack.
(5) Ghyretty Ghât to Dwarhatta *viâ* Haripal.
(6) Burdwan to Midnapore *viâ* Koergunj.
(7) Ghattal to Keerpoy.
(8) Ellipore *viâ* Singur and Nanda to Hooghly.
(9) Hooghly to Bhastara *viâ* Polba.

All these roads were, the Magistrate says, constructed by Government many years ago for commercial and military purposes. (167. V. 6-5-30.)

The roads in the above list chiefly used by troops were the first five. The state of even these main through lines of communication may be judged of by the fact that even so late as 1845 there were so few bullock-carts in this district that when required by troops they had to be procured from Calcutta. The Magistrate, in reply to a demand for carts, writes in 1833 to the Commanding Officer as follows :—"This place affords no facilities in the matter of hackery carriage, and if perchance a few, say from 15 to 20, be obtained from villages in the vicinity (of Hooghly), the cattle attached to them are generally small, lean, and feeble, and quite incapable of continued marching." (37. V. 16-10-33.) It is clear that having made the roads the Government of the day paid but little attention to their maintenance. The Military authorities were loud in their complaints, and the Magistrate, while allowing their justice, could do nothing without funds :—"I am sorry to say that with the exception of the great lines of communication which are kept up by Government—*and which by the way are frequently in a wretched state*—no provision whatever exists for making or repairing roads or bridges in the interior of the district." Some zemindars were induced to repair them "for the prosperity of the district," but no regular requisitions were made upon them to do so. The Magistrate remarked that in Rennel's old map of the Hooghly district it is shown as traversed by roads in every direction, "but now (1837) there is not a single road in the district which a European vehicle could traverse, while the number passable for hackeries in the rains are lamentably few." The Tribeni–Culna road was reported as being in fair order, but with little traffic on it since the suspension bridges at Tribeni and Nauserai had been washed away by the great flood of 1833. The road from Pandua to Mohanad is described as sunk below the level of the country, and in the rains more like a water-course than a road. The only road

described as excellent is that from Bhastara to Hooghly, which was constructed and also kept in repair by Chaku Ram Singh of Bhastara, one of the most public-spirited and enlightened zemindars in the district. The Magistrate commends this gentleman to the special notice of Government, and asks that he may be "decorated." He gave Rs. 500 for the repair of the Hooghly town roads, Rs. 1,000 for the Satgaon, and Rs. 500 for the Bally suspension bridges, built the "*chandni*" of Smyth's Ghât at a cost of Rs. 3,000, and subscribed Rs. 500 towards the building of the branch school. Besides being liberal in these respects, the Magistrate says that "his public and private character stand very high, and he is kind and indulgent to his tenantry." (177. V. 30-9-37.) It should be noted here that the construction and repair of all the public roads in the district was carried out almost entirely by gangs of convicts as late as 1845. Of the road from Haripal to Tarkessar, "a very celebrated medical temple, scarcely a vestige is left." The state of the Ulabaria-Midnapore road is reported as "very creditable, but the bridges and slopes have been washed away by floods." (176. V. 8-5-37.)

THE GRAND TRUNK ROAD.

Under this title I include the whole of the road which now runs from Sulkea to Burdwan, though only the portion from Hooghly was at first called by that name. Its history begins in 1804, with the appointment of Mr. R. Blechynden to make a survey for a new line between Serampore and Chandernagore, the old road having been much encroached upon by the river. On this work 500 convicts were employed under the supervision of a European sergeant. Regarding the Bandel bridge, which was rebuilt in the above year, I find the following notice:—"The violence of the current has year by year carried away a large portion of its bank above the bridge on the Hooghly side of the stream, so as to encroach greatly on the public road and to render it probable that unless measures are adopted to change its current it will in the course of the next rains cut through the road, and, joining two tanks on the opposite side, force its way by a new channel to the river." A cut was therefore made to bring it under the bridge at a cost of Rs. 702. (12. V. 22-10-23.). I find no record of its dimensions, cost, or completion, but in 1830 the road between Ghyretty and Hooghly was metalled with funds raised by a public subscription. In 1820 we have a description by the Judge of the Nizamut Adalat on Circuit on that part of it which lies to the north-west of Hooghly. He calls it "very indifferent, and in some places next to impassable, especially west of Pandua," and "so bad in one place that I was obliged to leave the road and go through the adjoining fields. The villagers cut right across it, and make no provision for traffic." He asks that 40 convicts may be sent at once to put it into a proper state of repair. (3. V. 15-1-20.) In 1829 the Raja of Burdwan gave Rs. 36,000 for the construction of a bridge across the Koontie Nullah at Magra, and Captain Vetch was appointed "to place the road to Bancoorah *viâ* Burdwan in a condition to admit of wheeled carriages and ekkas passing up, and of the dawks being conveyed in that manner throughout the year." (25. V. 1-9-29.) It will be seen

at page 91 that a mail cart commenced running on the road in 1843.

In consideration of his princely gift, the Raja of Burdwan was allowed to have badges for his peons. In the year 1829 the road appears to have been first used by troops in preference to the old Benares road, and the Military speak of it as "the route of the new road." In the following year it was metalled between Hooghly and Magra, and the construction was continued from Magra to Mymari. The estimate for the latter work, 22 miles, was—earthwork Rs. 20,243, metalling Rs. 38,684, culverts Rs 2,816; total Rs. 61,743. Captain Vetch drew a salary of Rs. 500 a month. The specifications show that the road was to be raised to 1½ feet on the average, with slopes of 3 to 1, to be made 5 feet wider than the existing track, and to be metalled with a 10-feet roadway 6 inches of *khoa* laid on one flat brick. (26. V. 19-6-30.) The sanctioned width between Hooghly and Magra appears to have been 40 feet. The Magistrate considered this to be unnecessarily wide, and reported that it would be "embanked and widened by convicts from time to time," as occasion offered. He speaks of the metal as being "loose and rough, and likely to remain so until worn down by traffic," from which I gather that the English system of road-mending was followed, and not that now in force in India. (168. V. 28-5-31.) The Governor-General and his suite appear to have travelled over this road about this period. In 1836 it had been constructed beyond Burdwan, and in 1843 it had evidently come into full use, as 282 carts are recorded as passing over the Satgaon bridge every week.

The Danish Governor of Serampore rendered much assistance from time to time in supervising the repairs of that part of the Grand Trunk Road which lay on either side of his jurisdiction. In 1846 the engineer in charge describes it as 30 feet wide at the top, with a base as, first made, of 60 to 70 feet. He complains of many encroachments right up to the very edge of the road and slopes, in spite of which the average width is described as 35 feet, and in no case more than 60 feet. The trees stood on the old line or track; and as no land appears to have been taken up or paid for, it must have generally followed that track throughout its length. (106. V. 29-6-46.) There were Dawk-bungalows at Magra and Pandua. The Bali suspension bridge, begun in 1838 and built and completed by Captain Goodwyn about 1845, fell into the water a few days before it was to have been launched. The funds for this bridge were raised chiefly by public subscription.

It may be useful to note here the results of the demarcation of this road by Special Sub-Deputy Collector Srinath Sen, under the orders of Government in the Public Works Department, completed in 1886. On either side of the 52 miles of the Grand Trunk Road, which lies within the Hooghly district, nearly 800 beeghas of surplus lands, yielding at present an annual revenue of Rs 482, have been recovered and marked off by masonry pillars. (Collector to Commissioner, No. 419, 23-2-86.)

THE DHANIAKHALI ROAD.

A very special interest attaches to this road, as it was mainly constructed by funds raised by public subscription, and because in the supervision of the expenditure of those funds by a committee of native

gentlemen we have the germ of the Road Cess Committee and of the Local Self-Government scheme which was brought to maturity some 50 years afterwards. The want of this road through such a thickly-populated and fertile country as that through which it passes had long been felt; and we may readily forgive the Magistrate the forced nature of the contributions which he asked for in such a good cause. Work was begun in 1837 or 1838, when the amount of funds raised was between seven and eight thousand rupees. In the latter year the Magistrate appointed "Pooran Babu, zemindar of Makhalpore, Chaku Ram Singh of Dharampore, and Roy Radhagobind Singh of Hatishala, to superintend this great public work, to see that the money of the subscribers is well laid out, and to settle all disputes which may arise regarding land." (177. V. 27-3-38.) In connection with this committee I also find the names of Jagamohun Seal, Kalikinker Palit, and Joykissen Mookerjee. A gang of convicts was employed on the road, and as this form of prison labour was beginning to fall under the disapproval of Government and to be discontinued, we find the Magistrate imploring to be allowed to finish the road before they are withdrawn—not only on the ground of the importance of this particular road, but because he considered that intramural labour would have a disastrous effect on the criminal classes, whose detection and conviction would be "rewarded by a seven or fourteen years' exemption from toil and hardship, and by transfer from a hovel to a *palace!*" (278. V. 29-1-39.)

Writing thus in January 1839, the Magistrate said that one large bridge was nearly finished, the foundations of two more laid, and that he hoped, if the convicts were not removed from the road, to finish it by the end of the year. There is no record of any compensation having been paid for land: the zemindars concerned, some of whom were on the committee, no doubt gladly gave it free of cost.

THE TRIBENI TO INCHURA AND CULNA ROAD.

This was the old through route from Calcutta to Nuddea, Moorshedabad, Rungpore, and Darjeeling, which latter station is first mentioned in 1839. It was much used by troops going to and from Moorshedabad and Monghyr, as well as by travellers, who, to go on to Calcutta, crossed the Hooghly at Ghyretty. The first proposal to bridge the road came from Colin Shakespear, "Superintendent-General of the Shakesperian Bridge Office, Calcutta," a high-sounding title, on which the records throw no further light. In 1828 Prankissen Haldar, zemindar of Jagdispore, came forward with a donation of Rs. 13,000 for a *pucka* bridge over the Sarasati at "Tirpunny" (*sic*) (Tribeni.) In recognition of this liberality and public spirit the Governor-General allowed him the privilege of entertaining six sepoys as sentries at the gates of his house (the present College building). The bridge was built by Mr. Goss, a professional builder from Calcutta, and a suspension bridge was also constructed at Nauserai from money raised by public subscription "under the auspices of Mr. D. C Smyth." In the floods of August 1834 both these bridges were almost entirely swept away, and the road was consequently abandoned for the river route with all its attendant risks and delays, which were found more bearable than the difficulties and delays at the temporary

ferries and the extortions of the farmers thereof. The estimate for the repairs of these bridges was Rs. 30,000 for Tribeni and Rs. 33,500 for Nauserai. The Magistrate made an urgent appeal to Government for funds, on the ground that as the bridges, though built by subscription, were formally made over to Government, it ought to repair them. (175. V. 11-7-36.) The Magistrate had a ferry fund balance of Rs. 58,464, which he proposed to devote to this purpose. The Court of Directors at first refused their consent to this expenditure, but eventually, in 1839, sanctioned the expenditure of the surplus of the ferry fund, which then amounted to Rs. 40,500.

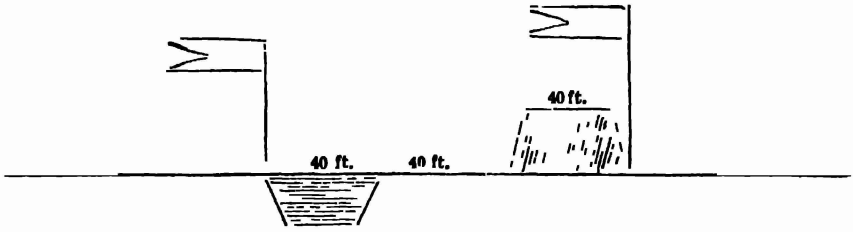
THE ULABARIA-MIDNAPORE ROAD.

In 1824 the Collector of Hooghly received orders from Government to acquire the land required by Captain Shortland "for improving the general direction of the part of the Cuttack road between Ulabaria and Midnapore and its junction with the Benares road." (13. V. 30-3-24.) Captain Shortland did not begin this work until the cold weather of 1825-26, and in September wrote for the land to be made over to him, and for coolies, which, he said, he could not himself procure. The story of the land acquisition proceedings gives us a somewhat instructive glance at the style of doing business in the early days. As stated above, the order was received in March 1824. It was not until December 1826 that an amin was sanctioned for the detailed measurement of the lands required, and he does not appear to have finished the work until June of the year following (1827). The measurements made were not accepted by the zemindars, and after much discussion and correspondence they were made over again in 1838-39. The first measurement showed 482 beeghas, the latter 554. (98. V. 25-11-43.) After three or four more years of correspondence Deputy Collector Rumapersad Roy was sent in 1843 to test the measurements and fix the rates; and to test his reports Mr. Assistant Collector Wauchope was deputed in 1844. Final orders on the proceedings were not passed until May 1845. (160. V. 6-5-45; Board's No. 111.) The Government had ordered in 1826 that the ryots as well as the zemindars should share in the compensation, but they appear only to have received the value of their huts, and not of their occupancy rights. The rates of compensation varied from Rs. 2 to Rs. 4 per beegha. (Details of these rates will be found in Appendix O.) Captain Shortland was very much averse to giving any compensation at all, considering that the advantages of free irrigation from, and improved drainage by means of the canal from Ulabaria to Panchkoora would more than compensate the zemindars. Mr. Wauchope found the greatest difficulty in carrying out the object of his deputation. The zemindars threw every obstacle in his way, and he could get no reliable papers or oral evidence. He says:—

"In one village all the inhabitants concealed themselves from fear of the police darogah, who had come to investigate a case of murder. Such wholesale manufacture of documents and palpable prevarication, falsehood, and misrepresentation, I never yet heard of or witnessed."

He found that the Deputy Collector had prepared his papers on the mere statements of the ryots and zemindars, without any attempt to sift them. In one village he had fixed the rate at Rs. 4-8 per beegha, while

Mr. Wauchope found it was only Rs. 2-7. (91. V. 23-4-44.) He found from the *hastabood* papers that the profits of the zemindar in pargana Mundleghat were 7 anas 6 gundas and the sudder jama 8 anas 14 gundas thus supporting "the calculation of one-half generally assumed in Bengal," and "the opinion of the Sudder Revenue Board." (117. V. 10-6-44.) Government orders No. 353, dated 30th April 1845, gave final sanction to the payment of Rs. 32,882 for the *mal*, and of Rs. 23,174 for the *lakhiraj* lands on the basis of 20 years' profits, together with an annual abatement of revenue to the amount of Rs. 508 and interest for 17 years at 6 per cent on the amount of compensation due. (160. V. 27-5-45.) These lands now form a Government khas mehal under the name of the "Cuttack roadside lands," and the rents are credited to the Government in the Public Works Department. The making of the road between Ulabaria and Panchkoora appears to have been completed in 1829, as the Commissioner passed over it in December of that year and gave a favourable report on it. In a letter received from the engineer in charge in 1846, the section of the road and canal is given thus:—



THE OLD BENARES ROAD.

This, as the most direct route to the North-Western Provinces, was the first road taken in hand by Government. It was called the "New Military Road," and in January 1797 Lieutenant Ranken was in charge of it, and very angry with the darogah of Haripal for not getting him coolies! In January 1816 Lieutenant W. D. Playfair, was in charge of this road, issuing parwanas in all directions to zemindars and darogahs to supply coolies to do the repairs and coming into collision with the Magistrate in consequence. He remained in charge until May 1828 (becoming a Major in the meantime), when it was made over to the Magistrate. Major Playfair put down milestones and divided the road into seven or eight sections, each under a road-sircar on Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 a month. The road was 14 feet wide throughout, the Military Board recommending its increase to 20 feet. (23.V. 18-5-28.) Sir Frederick Halliday, who was Magistrate of Hooghly in 1830, reported to Government in that year the fearful extent to which this road had suffered from floods, especially that part of it west of the Damoodar. He pointed out that year after year large sums of public money were spent in throwing up earth which was only washed away by the next flood, and recommended that the attempt to maintain it as a raised road should be abandoned. As regards the flooded parts, he wrote:—"Where well-secured and strongly-piled bunds cannot be resorted to, the best road is that which does *not* rise above the level of the surrounding country." He took

the responsibility of stopping all work except that of the convicts, as the route of the Grand Trunk Road *viâ* Burdwan was much preferred. (167. V. 21-1-30.) About the same time Colonel Ousely, Agent to the Governor-General for the South-West Frontier, called attention to the importance of this line of communication. He says:—"The now opening trade with Chota Nagpore and the whole of the South-West Frontier Agency in indigo, oilseeds, skins, and other jungle productions is all brought along this line." In 1837 the road is described as a melancholy picture of the effects of neglect in this climate, but as being, in spite of its wretched condition, still frequented by incessant streams of foot-passengers and pack-bullocks. Out of 58 bridges, some of which must have cost from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 30,000 each, the Magistrate says only 32 were then standing, and the arches of these were being fast worn away. The dawk bungalows were out of repair, and all the furniture was gradually being stolen or going to decay. (176. V. 8-5-37.) By 1840 the troops had ceased to use the road, and it had, at least in the flooded parts, sunk to the condition of an ordinary fair-weather track. It is truly lamentable to think of the immense sums of money that must have been wasted on this road before it was discovered that to make a raised road across the flood-spill of a country sufficient waterway must be allowed. The same experience was bought at the same cost in many other parts of the country, notably on the Grand Trunk Road between Midnapore and Cuttack.

THE NEW NAGPORE ROAD.

This road, which still bears the same name, was constructed in the cold season of 1821-22 by Lieutenant Symes and a company of hill beldars. It branched off from the old Benares road near Jehanabad, and extended for a distance of about 12 miles to Mooragurreah, the eastern frontier village of the Midnapore district. The Collector was ordered to acquire a strip of land 100 feet broad and 12 miles long, or about 450 beeghas. (5. V. 26-2 22; Board's No. 112.) Abatement of revenue to the extent of Rs. 435 in pargana Bograi and of Rs. 326 in pargana Jehanabad was allowed to the proprietors, and for 76 odd beeghas of *lakheraj* land Rs. 2,248 was paid. (13 & 55. V. 12-9-23.)

OTHER ROADS.

Mention is made of several old lines of road between Chandernagore and Singoor, and of one Madan Mohun Ker making another to the grievance of the ryots. (181. V. 15-2-41.)

What was called the "Bombay Dawk Road," and which was apparently intended to go from Calcutta *viâ* Ulabaria, Midnapore, and Sumbulpore to Bombay, the foreshadower of the Bengal-Nagpore Railway now under construction, was under construction in 1842, but appears to have been abandoned. Two Government estates in thana Bagnan are now borne on the revenue roll of this district, as numbers 3480 and 3870, under the name of "Abandoned Bombay Road."

In 1838 Messrs. John and Robert Watson offered a contribution of Rs. 4,000 towards a road from Ghattal to Keerpoy and Chandercunah, which they describe as large manufacturing towns carrying on

a very extensive trade in sugar, salt, silk, indigo, and cloth. Some of this trade was in the hands of Lahore and Amritsar merchants who had settled there, and it all had to be carried by pack-bullocks. The estimated cost of the road was Rs 20,000, and the ferry fund had a surplus of between Rs. 70,000 and Rs. 80,000. The Government offered to bear half the cost if Messrs. Watson & Co. and other zemindars would subscribe the other half. (178. V. 20-12-38.) Up to 1845 I do not find any further allusions to this road.

In December 1845 Captain A. H. Boileau and a large survey party of six Europeans and 200 natives were encamped at Hooghly *en route* to Culna to survey the line of the East Indian Railway. (157. V. 1-12-45.)

WATER COMMUNICATIONS.

As early as 1828 a line of steamers ran daily between Hooghly and Calcutta, calling at Chinsurah, Chandernagore, &c., and carrying the mails. (166. V. Aug. 1828.) The river communications were evidently looked upon as much more important than roads. The Magistrate and the Collector were vested in 1835 with powers under Regulation VIII of 1824 to "require owners of trees that from their situation are likely to be swept into the river to be felled and carried away." (122. V. 20-8-35.)

Between 1824 and 1828 the "Ulabaria Canal" was constructed along with the new road thence to Midnapore, the earth excavated for the former being used to raise the latter. This canal was abandoned after the existing line had been made. The tolls levied on it were in 1828. (25. V. 24-10-28.)—

For budgerows	...	... 4 anas	per oar.
„ pansis	...	... 2 „	„ „
„ cargo-boats	...	... 6 „	„ 100 maunds.
„ small market-boats		... 2 „	„ boat.

In 1843 I find the first proposal for carrying out the works now known as the Eden Canal. The Magistrate, writing to the Superintending Engineer, says that the country requires drainage, and recommends the opening of the mouth of the Kana Nadi, and so giving a passage to its waters to join the Sarasvati or the Ganges. He also recommends that the bed of the former should be deepened between Tribeni and Rajgunj below the Botanical Gardens.

PUBLIC WORKS BY PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS.

I give below a list of public works constructed up to 1834 by the rich and public-spirited inhabitants of the Hooghly district. (173. V. 11-1-34.)

1. Tribeni bridge (masonry),—Prankissen Haldar.
2. Metalled road from Ghyretty to Chandernagore,—Kasinath and other Banerjees of Teliniparah.
3. Iron suspension bridge, Satgaon,—Raja of Burdwan and other zemindars.
4. Iron suspension bridge, Magra,—Raja of Burdwan only.
5. Smyth's ghat,—Chakuram Singh and other zemindars.

6. Gholghat.—Ramkumar Roy, zemindar.
7. Old Benares road to Janai,—Ramnarayan Mukerji, zemindar.
8. Buxagori road to Balagarh,—Bhagobatty Ch. Bose, zemindar.
9. Hat Bahadurgung to Jirat,—Madan Dutt, zemindar.
10. Magra to Bhastara,—Chakuram Sing, zemindar.
11. Chinsurah to Kaksali (*pucka*).—Gangapersad Ghose, merchant.
12. Dankuni to interior,—Mahes Ch. Banerjee, banian.
13. Iron suspension bridge,—Nauserai (same as 3).
14. Nauserai to Culna road and two bridges,—Raja of Burdwan.

EMBANKMENTS.

Up to the year 1806 this most vitally important branch of the administration, on which the welfare, and even lives, of so many thousands of ryots depended, was left entirely, as it was found when we assumed the Dewani in 1765, in the hands of the zemindars. It was thought that self-interest would induce them to keep existing embankments in proper repair, even if it did not lead them to incur heavy expenditure in making new ones. The consequence was that every zemindar embanked his own estate without reference to the general welfare, and of course without any considerations of engineering skill and propriety.

Regulations XIV and XXXIII of 1793 provided for the advance from the public funds to proprietors or farmers of sums for the construction or repair of embankments, and for their recovery.

In 1803 the Collector of Hooghly reported that the embankments were in a very defective state, and that in many places they had been *entirely* neglected. He recommended the appointment of a European Superintendent, a measure which was soon afterwards carried out under the Committee of Embankments formed under the provisions of Regulation VI of 1806.

The most important of the bunds in the Hooghly district were those lying within the Burdwan Raj, and in the parganas of Mandalghat and Chatooah. For keeping these in proper repair a contract was at first made with a Mr. Fraser. On its expiry the work was entrusted to the Raja, who was allowed at the decennial settlement a deduction of Government revenue on this account to the extent of sicca Rs. 60,001. When the above parganas were sold by public auction for arrears and separated from the Raj, the auction purchasers were allowed similar deductions of sicca Rs. 3,161 and sicca Rs. 3,098 respectively; the sum total, sicca Rs. 6,259, being deducted from the Raja's allowance, which was thus reduced to sicca Rs. 53,742. In April 1826 the Raja engaged to pay this sum as Government revenue on the condition that Government took over the embankments and kept them in repair.* (V. 54.) During the time that the two parganas remained *khas*, no less than Rs. 26,534 was spent by Government on the repairs of their embankments. The enactment of Regulation VI of 1806 appears to have had the effect of putting matters on a much more satisfactory footing, but for many years the Committee had very great

* At the present time the length of Schedule D embankments in the Raj zemindari in the Hooghly district is 65¾ miles.

difficulties to contend with, not the least of which was the almost complete absence of all record as to the several responsibilities of Government and of the zemindars, and the universal habit of cutting the embankments for irrigation purposes without properly filling up the cuts. The difficulty of procuring coolies was also extreme, and the Magistrate was frequently asked to force the ryots to work on the bunds. The Secretary to the Burdwan Committee of Embankments (Mr. E. Molony, afterwards Secretary to the Board of Revenue) complains most bitterly of this practice, and asks the aid of the Magistrates and police in preventing it. He says that in 1819 out of 29 breaches, most of them were due to this cause. (12. V. 17-2-20.) The amount spent by Government on embankments in the Hooghly and Burdwan districts in 1823 was Rs. 61,474. (14. V. 23-6-24)

In 1833 a claim appears to have been put forward by the zemindars of pargana Mandalghat to have all their embankments repaired by Government, although (as has been mentioned on page 116) they received a deduction for the purpose. The claim seems to have been based on the action of Dr. Welchman, who was Superintendent in 1828. He repaired the bunds with money advanced by Government, but neglected to recover it from the zemindars. It was decided, however, in 1840 that Government was liable for keeping up the river bunds of this pargana (78. V. 7-1-40), and the Collector was ordered to refund Rs 10,952, which had been levied from the zemindars on this account, with interest at 6 per cent. (83. V. 16-11-40.) So late as the above year (1833) no proper record seems to have been made of the Government or of the zemindari bunds. Writing in May 1835 (V. 54), the Superintendent says that owing to the gradual disrepair and decay of the latter every successive flood did more and more damage. He gives the following list of the various kinds of embankments which then existed :—

(1) *Gangooria*, or river bunds.
(2) *Sarhad*, or pargana boundary bunds.
(3) *Grambheri*, or village ditto do.
(4) *Fary* (*sic*), or second bunds (retired lines?).
(5) *Hossiah*, or creek ditto.
(6) *Khal*, or cross bunds in khals and nullahs.
(7) *Julnecossy* (*sic*) (*Jalnikāsi ?*) ditto.
(8) Masonry sluices.
(9) *Boles* or wooden ditto.

The embankments numbered 2 and 3 in the above list had, he says, been abandoned since 1827 "from a cursory view, and merely from a supposition."

The Government appears to have taken up the embankment question in real earnest in 1836. The Superintendent was ordered to examine the records of the Collector's office with a view of ascertaining if possible the respective responsibility of Government and of the zemindars, and a Committee was ordered to assemble at Hidgelee and Tumlook in the cold season of 1837-38 "to take into consideration all

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NOTE.—The volume marked 54 contains a large amount of detailed information regarding embankments only, and can be referred to in original whenever necessary.

the points connected with the present system of maintaining embankments." (54. V. 22-6-37.) In one respect at any rate improvement is visible in 1845, as no fewer than 89 masonry sluices had been constructed in lieu of the cuts formerly made by the ryots with such disastrous effects. (106. V. 20-5-44.) The practice had, however, by no means altogether ceased, and in addition to it the Superintendent complains of zemindars having let out the slopes of the bunds for cultivation and building purposes, and of their having planted or allowed trees to grow thereon. The Government decided that houses and trees could be removed under Act XXI of 1841, but desired that every consideration should be shown to claims of "long and undisturbed occupancy" of houses, and that trees should be cut "in a manner as little irritating to the feelings of those concerned as possible."

The group of Government estates in the Jehanabad subdivision, under the name of Mujhpore, are constantly referred to in the early correspondence as suffering greatly from floods, and the ryots as being unable in consequence to pay their rents. This state of affairs was stereotyped by the final abandonment, a few years ago, of the embankment on the western bank of the Damuder.

CHAPTER VII.

EDUCATION.

SITAPORE MADRASSA—HOOGHLY COLLEGE.

EDUCATION.

THE first reference to education to be found in the old records is a letter from the Accountant-General, dated 25th March 1824 (V. 11), authorising the Collector "to *continue* to pay to the Revd. Mr. Mundy Rs. 800 per mensem on account of the *native* schools *supported by Government* at Chinsurah and its vicinity . . . . . without the countersignature of the Chief Secretary to Government." In the following year he was further authorised to pay Rs. 50 a month to Messrs. Overbeck and others, Members of the Chinsurah School Society, on behalf of the Chinsurah Free School. The Secretary to this Society was the Revd. Mr. Lacroix. This payment was to have effect from the 7th May 1825, the date of the actual transfer of Chinsurah to the British Government. This school was formerly supported by the Chinsurah Poor Fund, and was no doubt established by the Dutch. (15. V. 22-9-25.)

The other schools alluded to above, fourteen in number, were situated at Nyehatty, Bhatpara, Gaurapara (Gauripore ?), Beebeehat, Mankoonda, Haldarparah, Hajinagar, Hooghly, Khasbati, Bansberia, Halishahar, Kanchraparah, Kulupokheree, and Kankshali. The grant of Rs. 800 a month made by Government to these schools was withdrawn from the 1st November 1832, and it was ordered that should any parties be willing to carry on the schools as private institutions the school-houses (with the furniture) should be made over to them and kept in repair by Government. The only condition imposed was that the schools should be subject to inspection by Government officers. (38. V. 15-8-32.)

Mr. Lewis Betts, the late Superintendent of these 14 schools, which had in all about 800 scholars, reported that only three out of the 14 teachers were willing to accept the offer of Government. He then endeavoured, but without success, to get the Church Missionary Society to take them over. He says the expenses can be reduced, and asks the Magistrate to use his influence with the zemindars to subscribe, as the natives had enjoyed free education for nearly 20 years, and were anxious for an English education "on both sides of the river." Mr. Betts himself offered to start an English seminary with eight classes, paying school fees varying from 4 annas to Rs. 5 per mensem, if Government would give him a grant of Rs. 250. (38. V. 23-11-32.) I do not find that this proposal was acceded to.

In 1834 Mr. D. C. Smyth, then Judge of Hooghly, appears to have come to the rescue and founded the present Branch School. The Government gave the site of this, a part of the old Fort land, measuring 2 beeghas 7 cottahs, and the funds for the building and other expenses

were raised by subscription among the principal zemindars of the district. (51. V. 5-3-34.) With this school was subsequently associated the Madrassa attached to the Imambara, and it appears to have flourished greatly under the fostering care of its founder, who is remembered to the present day as being first and foremost in all schemes for the public good, as a just and humane judge, and a true friend to all classes of the people. Of the establishment of the Hooghly College, which marks so important an era in the history of education in the Hooghly district, an account is given at page 123. Towards the end of the year 1844 the Government appears to have awoke to the importance of the education of the people of the interior, and to have sanctioned the establishment of three village schools, "in which sound and useful elementary instruction may be imparted in the vernacular language." The sites for these schools were to be chosen by the Collector. (155. V. 18-12-44.) This measure was duly notified to the inhabitants of the district, but only 12 villages applied for the preference. The Collector decided in favour of Boinchi and Kannagarh (probably Uttarparah), the people of which were willing to erect and maintain school-houses. The claim of Bydyabati was rejected, as it was too near to Serampore, "that friendly seat of learning." The Collector wished one of the schools to be established in the neighbourhood of Jehanabad, but the site had not been fixed upon at the close of the year 1845. (117. V. 17-5-45.) Shortly afterwards the late Babu Joykissen Mookerjee and his brother Rajkrishna liberally came forward and endowed the Uttarparah school with two putni mehals—Boinchi and Ramnagar—of the net value of Rs. 1,200 per annum. The Government as trustee became putnidar, and gave a darpatni lease to the donor. (109. V. 20-4-46.) The mofussil collections of these two mehals were, on an average of eight years, Rs. 8,619; the rent payable to the Burdwan Raj, Rs. 6,612; the darpatnidar reserved as collection expenses, &c., Rs. 798, thus leaving Rs. 1,200 for the endowment of the school. The sum is now payable to the Uttarparah College. The same brothers subsequently made a similar endowment, yielding Rs. 1,800 per annum, for the foundation and support of the Uttarparah Hospital. History is always repeating itself. Thus we have in 1888 an announcement that the policy of Government is henceforth to withdraw its pecuniary aid wherever private enterprise will step in and take its place. It made a similar announcement of policy in 1832, but with somewhat disastrous results, as it did not then wait for the private enterprise to develope itself, and, as related on the preceding page, 11 out of 14 schools were closed. It should not be forgotten, from an educational point of view, that, as related on page 2, it was at Hooghly that was set up the first printing-press in Bengal. To Bali belongs the distinction of being one of the eight places which furnished Bengal with almanacs before the introduction of printing. After that event, however, the Bali almanacs were superseded by those published at a native press in Serampore.

No account of early education in the Hooghly district would be complete without some reference to the labours of Carey, Marshman, and Ward. Towards the end of the year 1799 the two last, driven by Government from the dominions of the East India Company, sought refuge in those of the King of Denmark at Serampore. They were joined by Carey, then an indigo-planter in Maldah, early in 1800. Here they

set up a press, managed by Ward, and while Carey devoted himself to the translation of the Bible into Bengali, Marshman preached, and both he and his wife opened schools. All these undertakings prospered exceedingly: the receipts of the schools sometimes amounted to Rs. 4,000 a month. Shortly afterwards Carey was appointed Professor of Sanscrit in the College founded by the Marquis of Wellesley. In 1812 they founded the Serampore College, in the belief that the work of education was absolutely connected with that of evangilisation. They printed the first books ever published in the Bengali language, and laid the foundation of a vernacular library: they were the first to cultivate and improve that language and render it the vehicle of national instruction. They published the first vernacular newspaper in India, and led the way in all departments of intellectual improvement. The inhabitants of the Hooghly district in particular, and of the Lower Provinces in general, owe these noble, self-denying pioneers of education a debt of gratitude which can never be repaid.*

The benefits conferred on education by the College founded by Bishop Middleton, and generally known as Bishop's College, were not less practical or enduring. The handsome buildings were designed by Sir William Jones about the year 1820, and he died in September 1821, of a fever contracted while superintending their erection.

THE SITAPORE ENDOWMENT AND MADRASSA.

The Sitapur Madrassa is situated in village Sitapur, in the Serampore subdivision, and is maintained out of a Government grant which owes its origin to an assignment of Rs. 4-8 per diem made by Governor Cartier in 1772 upon the revenue of mouzahs Kamdeopur, Goneshbati, Ratirambati, &c., in pargana Balia; Barunda, Sirkar, and Selimabad in chakla Burdwan. The grant was a *yomiau* or daily allowance to Moulavis Amsuddin and Masihaddin, to be held by them and their heirs for ever for the expenses of a musjid and madrassa. The sunnud making the grant is dated the 26th January 1772. After some interruption to the possession, the grant was renewed in 1781 by Warren Hastings (whose demi-official letter is reproduced below) with the addition of 8 anas, making the grant Rs. 5 per diem, or Rs. 152 per mensem. The matwalli, however, at present draws Rs. 158-13-5 a month from the Hooghly treasury under a permanent order from the Accountant-General. The original grant was in sicca rupees, of which the above sum is the equivalent.

The Board of Revenue in 1812 sanctioned the distribution of one-third of the allowance amongst the family of the grantee as the matwalli's proportion of the grant subject to the law of inheritance. Of the remaining two-thirds, one was to go for the expenses of the musjid, and the other for those of the madrassa. This arrangement was in 1837 set aside as irregular, the Government of Bengal expressing the opinion that three-fourths of the grant should be appropriated to the madrassa, which might then become a preparatory school to the Hooghly College, and that the remaining one-fourth should be left to the matwalli for the expenses of the musjid.

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* *Calcutta Review*, vol. xxxii 1859.

The General Committee of Public Instruction attempted in 1839 to bring the madrassa under their own control. The matwalli, Moulvi Muhammad Ali Hafiz, appealed to Government against their order placing the madrassa under their management, and prayed that it might not be removed from him. The Government of Bengal decided that, beyond looking into the existence and condition of the madrassa, the General Committee of Public Instruction had nothing to do with the control of it or of the funds assigned to it, and that both should be left with the family of the grantee.

In his letter No. 61, dated the 26th February 1872, to the Government of Bengal, the Commissioner recommended that Maulavis Dilwar Hossein and Abdur Rahim with the Collector of Hooghly be appointed as a Committee of Management, and in Government Resolution of 9th March 1872 this Committee was appointed. The Committee acts under the supervision and control of the Commissioner of the Division.

The madrassa is now conducted by the matwalli himself, assisted by a number of teachers. In it are taught Arabic, Persian, and Urdu. The course prescribed by Mr. Blochman, Assistant Professor in the Calcutta Madrassa, is used, except arithmetic, which is not taught in any of the classes. The Committee have since agreed to introduce this subject. The boys receive education, board, and lodging, free of all cost. (87. V. 11-11-39.) Warren Hastings' letter runs as follows :—

Dear Sir,—Moulovy Amsuddeen, who has for some time been occasionally employed in translating Arabic letters in Persian, and *vice versâ*, in the Persian Translator's office, had formerly an allowance of 5 Rs. per day allotted him out of the districts of Hooghly and Hidgely for the support of a school in the Burdwan province. This, by an indulgence of Mr. Cartier, was transferred to Comdinpore, in the pergunnah of Ballea Bussendra, which is the place of his residence in the Burdwan district, and a sunnud was accordingly granted him for it. He now complains that since Mr. Cartier has left the Government it has never been paid him. Permit me therefore to request you will put him in possession from the first of the last Bengal year. I more particularly wish it shortly to be done as he has engaged his services in the translation of a work out of the Arabic into the Persian language, and he agrees to accept of this as a full compensation for his trouble.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Warren Hastings.

Calcutta,

The 2nd June 1774.

To

George Van Sittart, Esq.

THE HOOGHLY COLLEGE.

The stone in the College Hall bears the following inscription :—

> *College of Mohamad Mohsin.*
>
> "This College was established through the munificence of the late Mohamad Mohsin, and was opened on the 1st of August 1836."

As early as 1832 it had been determined to devote a part of the large accumulated surplus of the Mohsin fund to the establishment of a College, and a Local Committee was formed with Dr. Thomas Wise, the Civil Surgeon, as Secretary, to select a site and make other necessary arrangements. This Committee recommended that the College should be built on the then unoccupied land between the Imambara and the tomb of Mahomed Mohsin. It was then covered with native huts and houses, valued at Rs. 2,500, which it would have been necessary to demolish under the procedure of Regulation I of 1824. (171. V. 30-4-32.) Nothing, however, was settled until 1837, when some of the members of the General Committee of Public Instruction came to Hooghly and inspected the above site, as well as General Perron's house (the present College) and some military buildings then vacant. They recommended as regards the first that the premises now used as the Collectorate should be bought, and that a road then open from the jail to the Collector's cutcherry through the Imambara land should be "closed, and carried back to join the Chinsurah road on the south." A Committee of native gentlemen was nominated for assessing the value of huts and houses, of which the late Baboo Joy Kissen Mookerjee was President. (219. V. 21-3-37.) Eventually, however, General Perron's house was purchased for Rs. 20,000 from Baboo Juggoo Mohun Seal, together with about three beeghas of adjacent land. (219. V. 18-7-37.) Mr. Beveridge tells me that General Perron was a French General in the service of Scindiah, who surrenderd to Lord Lake in the beginning of this century, and settled at Chinsurah as being so near to Chandernagore ; that he come out to India in 1774 as a common sailor on a French frigate and entered the service of De Boigne in 1789, and that he was believed to have amassed a fortune of 50 lakhs of rupees.*

Local tradition relates that he built the fine house now occupied by the College, and entrenched himself there as if to withstand a siege. An account of him will be found in Colonel Malleson's *Final French Struggles in India*, published in 1878. (See also Franklin's *Life of George Thomas.*) From his possession the house appears to have passed into that of Prankissen Haldar, one of the leading zemindars of the Hooghly district, who was subsequently convicted of forging Government securities and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. He is said to have given the most magnificent *natches* and entertainments in the large hall. The Seal family of Chinsurah lent him money on a mortgage of the house, and had it sold in 1834 by the

* I am also indebted to Mr. Beveridge for the old plan of Chinsurah, which forms the frontispiece, and for several other references.

Civil Court in execution of a decree for another debt, they themselves purchasing it very cheap. Nabakissen Haldar, the son of Prankissen, at first disputed the right of Juggoo Mohun Seal to sell the house to Government, but eventually joined in the convevance. (219. V. 18-7-37.) The Branch School, which was established in connection with the College as a preparatory school, was held in the building which it now occupies. It was then called the "Subscription School House," as having been built and established by the Magistrate, Mr. D C Smyth, in the year 1834 with funds raised by public subscription. The site, formerly a part of the old Fort, was given free of cost by the Government. (220. V. 20-10-37.) I have not been able to find any record of the number of pupils at the College; but four Mahomedan students received stipends from the College fund aggregating Rs. 19 per mensem, tenable for a period not to exceed three years. (219. V. 23-12-36.) The monthly expenses of the College appear to have averaged about Rs. 5,000 per mensem.

The first Principal was Dr. Thomas Wise, the Civil Surgeon, an account of whose multifarious works is given on page 131. His successor was the next Civil Surgeon, Dr. James Esdaile, and his successors up to 1845 were Messrs. Clint and Rochfort.

CHAPTER VIII.

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.

MUNICIPALITIES.

THE germ of municipal government is contained in Regulation XIII of 1813, under the provisions of which the inhabitants of towns were enabled to make better provision for watch and ward and for the protection of their property. The above law was introduced into the town of Hooghly, which the Magistrate calls "a small straggling town," early in June 1814. According to ancient tradition, the town contained 18 *mohullas* or wards; but as many of them existed only in name, the Magistrate divided it into two main divisions, viz. Bali and Golghat. The first contained 2,359 houses and huts, the assessment on which thereon was Rs. 173 per mensem, and for its protection 32 chaukidars were appointed at Rs. 4 each. The second division contained 1,719 houses, with an assessment of Rs. 160 and an establishment of 28 chaukidars. The chaukidars were appointed on the 28th June 1814. Shortly afterwards the Magistrate was able to report that "since the establishment of the chaukidars in the town of Hooghly there have been no robberies or thefts." The Regulation laid down that to supervise the chaukidars and make the assessments, "mukhtars," representatives of the people, should be appointed with the approval of the Magistrates. The Court people and amla selected two "mukhtars" accordingly; but the Magistrate, not being satisfied that they were really representative, sent his nazir and police darogah round each division to take a plebiscite. The result was the selection of the original nominees: the people, however, took little or no interest in the matter. A Government Resolution on the working of the above Regulation says that it had tended to suppress burglaries in the towns, and had met with no opposition from the inhabitants; on the contrary, that those of other towns had petitioned for its introduction. The Government therefore resolved that it might be extended "to those places where Joint-Magistrates are stationed, and to some of the most populous and opulent towns in each district;" but such extension was to be "in every instance superintended by the Magistrate or Joint-Magistrates themselves, who should accordingly proceed in person to those towns in which it may be expedient to introduce it." (23-8-15.) We have here the extension of the principle of local government and taxation in mofussil towns which bore fruit in subsequent municipal legislation, and also the principle introduced by Act III (B.C.) of 1888 amending the Village Chaukidari Act. Defects in the working of the above Regulation having come to light, it was amended by Regulation XXII of 1816, and this law contains the first provision made for conservancy, lighting, and other municipal improvements.

The following table gives such municipal statistics as are available in the old records for Hooghly and Chinsurah.

Year.	Number of mohullas.	Number of Houses.		Monthly tax assessed.	Number of chaukidars.	Salary of chaukidars.	Monthly surplus.
		Assessed.	Exempted.				
				Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
1819	21	1,941	1,428	197	48	192	5
1820	19	1,981	1,555	199	48	192	7
1822	21	2,068	1,987	204	48	192	12
1826	21	2,483	1,118	262	61 and 2 duffadars	230	12
1829	21	2,656	829	287	Ditto ...	266	21
1830	21	2,522	829	278	Ditto ...	266	12
1834	21	2,548	829	271	Ditto ...	266	5

In 1825 about Rs. 2,000 was spent on the improvement of the town from the surplus town-duties levied under Regulation X of 1810.

In a minute dated May 1823, which granted these funds for the improvement of towns, the Governor-General in Council directed that they should be expended in "filling up hollows, stagnant pools, and useless ditches, in the construction of *pucca* drains and bridges, the opening up and widening of the public roads, and in other minor improvements." (18. V. 27-5-26.) This is another distinct step in advance towards a sounder system of sanitation and municipal administration.

In 1829 a sum of Rs. 4,768 was expended in this manner. The road near the Collector's cutchery was widened: the large tank opposite the Civil Court buildings, the Pipalpati and several other tanks in the town were dug, trees were planted by the sides of the roads—among them the fine cassuarina trees which are now so distinct a feature of the town—and several of the roads were metalled with brick. Some "filth-carts" (*sic*) were also purchased, and a staff of "scavengers" was entertained to work them. But into the midst of this real progress and encouraging state of affairs fell, the same year, the thunderbolt of financial necessity. The Governor-General was obliged to discontinue "the further appropriation of the surplus town-duties to purposes of public improvement," to dissolve the local committees, and to place their duties in the hands of the Magistrates. (25. V. 1-9-29.)

Gangs of prisoners were still allowed to work in the town, but even these were withdrawn about 1840, and the Magistrate had to manage as best he could. Little or nothing is now heard of municipal affairs until 1837, when by Regulation XV of that year the maximum chaukidari assessment under Regulation XXII of 1816 was raised to Rs. 2, and the principle of applying the surplus collections to improvements in the towns was expanded and re-affirmed. Two fire-engines were purchased from Calcutta in this year (176. V. 8-5-37), and Government seems to have again taken up the subject of municipal reform. In a report dated March 1838 the Magistrate gives an interesting account of the state of the towns of Hooghly and Chinsurah at that period, and of the existing arrangements for their conservancy. He says that they are, properly speaking, the only two towns in the

district Their population according to a house-to-house census taken in February 1836 was 21,216. Considerable care had been bestowed upon the streets and roads, and the towns presented "an appearance of neatness and regularity not often observable in the towns of the Lower Provinces." There were six conservancy carts with sweepers costing Rs. 90 a month and two "ameens" on Rs. 10 each to look after the repairs of the roads and to prevent encroachments.*

Since the withdrawal of the surplus town collections the roads were repaired from a fund called the "Mushâhira Bazeyafti," and they were metalled with the material of the old Portuguese and Dutch forts and of ruined mosques and temples. On the other hand, the town was overgrown with jungle, and contained numberless stagnant pools: dead bodies, and the contents of conservancy carts, were thrown into the river. There was still much room for improvement in spite of the progress made.

The chaukidari-tax was collected with the greatest difficulty, especially after its increase by Regulation XV of 1837. The chaukidars were two months in arrear, and were paid by irregular instalments, as the collections were made. In this state of affairs a new departure in local self-government was made. The inhabitants came forward and offered, through Babu Durga Charan Adi, to take the collections into their own hands, dispense with the buxi and his staff (which cost Rs. 70 a month), and to guarantee the full amount of the existing assessment. In reporting this offer to Government for sanction, the Magistrate, Mr. E. A. Samuells, writes as follows:—"It shows that the people are awaking to a sense of the great benefits which every community must derive from the system of self-government; and it contains a germ of public spirit which, although at present only called into existence by a feeling of personal annoyance which the people are anxious to get rid of, will, I trust before very long, become, a confirmed principle. It ought at all events to be encouraged." (177. V. 30-3-38.) That Mr. Samuells did encourage and foster it to the full extent of his power is clear from the fact that a public meeting of the inhabitants was called in June 1840, at which the first Municipal Committee was elected. The proceedings of this meeting are reproduced as worthy of record, not only of the event, but of the names of the leaders of the movement:—

Extract from the proceedings of the inhabitants of Chinsurah, Hooghly, and Chandernagore at a meeting held at Hooghly on the 5th June 1840.

"Proposed by Syed Keramut Ally, seconded by Baboo Ruma Pershad Roy—That a committee be appointed to take into consideration measures for the municipal management of the towns of Chinsurah, Hooghly, and Chandernagore.

"Proposed by Syed Keramut Ally, seconded by Baboo Ruma Pershad Roy—That there be one committee for the three towns.

"Resolved.—That there be nine members of the committee; three to be chosen from each town, with power to add to their number.

* One of the "institutions" of the town at this day is an ameen called Piyaru, whose patriarchal appearance is suggestive of Moses or Aaron!

"Proposed and carried that—

G. Herklotts, Esq.,	for Chinsurah,
Baboo Jebun Kishen Pal,	
Moulvi Akbar Sha,	
Baboo Chundy Charun Ghose,	for Chandernagore,
„ Tarini Charun Chukerbutty,	
„ Rassik Lal Ghose,	
Syed Keramut Ally,	for Hooghly,
„ Ahmud Khan Bahadoor, P.S.A.	
Baboo Hullodhur Ghose,	

be the members of the committee.

"Proposed by Baboo Joy Kissen Mookerjee, seconded by Roy Hurro Chunder Ghose, S.A., and carried—That the proceedings of the meeting be published in the native newspapers, and notice be issued to the inhabitants of these towns for their information.

"Resolved—That another general meeting be held on the 5th July. Thanks were voted to the Chairman for his able conduct in the chair."

The inhabitants were somewhat alarmed at these proceedings, in which they professed to see a further increase of taxation, but were re-assured by the Magistrate. The first act of the new committee was to elect the matwali, Maulvi Keramat Ali, as President, and Babu Eshan Chunder Banerjee as Honorary Secretary.* Their next was to purchase 200 lamps at Rs. 5-8 each for lighting the town; but as no authority had been given them to expend this sum, and as there were no funds available for its payment, they had to be countermanded. They requested the Magistrate to make over to them the full control of the conservancy, collecting, and chaukidari establishments, and to appoint a writer on Rs. 7 per mensem "to do the drudgery." This the Magistrate could not legally do, so that the committee was placed in an entirely false position, and this was pointed out by their Honorary Secretary in a very able and temperate letter. He says that the committee can continue to act as a deliberative and consultative body, but that it cannot be looked upon as also executive, as the establishments were neither paid by it nor placed under its orders and control. The letter continues thus:—"The materials the committee have at present to work upon are, we beg to assure you, not at all commensurate with the objects they have in view, and unless our successors meet with greater assistance, their most indefatigable exertions and devotion to the welfare of the public will, we have reason to suspect, terminate but in bitter disappointment." (213. V. 31-12-41.) Meantime the President and members had begun to quarrel over the appointment of a buxi. The former, after trying in vain to override the opinion of the majority, left the meeting in a huff, returned the Secretary's letters unopened, and refused to have anything more to do with the committee. Maulvi Akbar Shah was elected in his place. In September 1841 the term of one year, for which the committee had been appointed, expired, and it became *functus officio*. To elect another several public

* This gentleman began his career as Head-Master of the Branch School, and subsequently became a Professor in the College and retired on pension.

meetings were called at the Branch School, but after repeated attempts no one would attend. The Honorary Secretary says :—"

"A public meeting here is no other than an assembly of the lower orders called by beat of *tom-tom* and a few dependents of the Courts, invited by curiosity rather than by a clear appreciation of the importance attached to such meetings." (213. V. 13-9-41.)

In this dilemma the only remedy was to circulate a voting paper with separate columns for votes for the old or for a new committee. As two hundred persons signed in the former and none in the latter, the old committee was held to be re-elected in February 1842. Its first act was the most reasonable and sensible one of asking the Magistrate to move Government to define more clearly its duties, powers, and responsibilities " after the painful struggle for a year with untoward circumstances."

The outcome of this request was the passing of Act X of 1842—the first purely municipal law in force in Bengal—" to make better provision for purposes connected with the public health and convenience." This Act could be introduced into any town at the request of two-thirds of the inhabitants: they were to choose their representatives as a committee, and a rate could be imposed on houses not exceeding 5 per cent on their value. The details of the working of the Act were provided for by rules, and the Government reserved to itself the right of dissolving the committee at any time. The new measure had not got fairly into working order by 1845, and it belongs more properly to the history of the next 50 years (1846 to 1895). Under it, however, Chandernagore was added to the Municipality, which formerly included only Hooghly and Chinsurah.

SERAMPORE.

The town of Serampore was not long behindhand in the matter of municipal administration. The inhabitants held a meeting in the cold weather of 1845-46, and requested the introduction of the new Act (X of 1842). The members of the first municipal committee of Serampore were Messrs. L. S. Jackson, J. C. Marshman, J. Abbott, M.D., and Babus Gangapersad Gosaen, Rajkisto De, and Hurroo Chunder Lahiri. The town was divided into five beats, each containing two mohullas, and the Danish chaukidars were kept on, the committee resolving that "as Serampore has always been remarkable for its good order and cleanliness, the most we can do is to keep up its former state and to continue the former establishment." (187. V. 13-2-46.)

UNIONS AND STATIONS.

Act (XXII) of 1816 gave power to the inhabitants of any town to apply for its introduction, and to form quasi-municipal committees, such as those which were afterwards created by Act V (B.C.) of 1876 and abolished by III (B.C) of 1884, the Municipal Act now in force. None of the towns in the Hooghly district were anxious for this measure; but the Magistrate in 1843 recommended its introduction into Bydyabati, Chatra, Kannaghar, Bansberia, Pandua, Balagarh, Dhaniakhally, Ghattal, Chunderkona, Jehanabad, Guptipara, Boinchi, and Tribeni. (183. V. 23-6-43.)

Up to the end of 1845 I find nothing to show that this recommendation was accepted, though nearly all of the towns abovementioned subsequently became either municipalities, unions, or stations under Act V (B.C.) of 1876.

CHAPTER IX.

AFFAIRS MANAGED BY THE LOCAL AGENTS.

THE HOOGHLY IMAMBARA—CHINSURAH IMAMBARA-GUPTIPARA MUTH.

THE HOOGHLY IMAMBARA.

MOHAMED MOHSIN, to whose munificence and charity this institution owes its existence, was born in the year 1732. He subsequently settled in the Hooghly district, where he died in 1812. By a deed dated 9th June 1806 he founded the trust, of which the following paragraphs endeavour to give an account.

The proceeds of the property bequeathed to it were, under the deed, to be divided into nine equal shares, of which three were to be applied to religious celebrations, festivals, feasts, and the repairs of the Imambara buildings and of the cemetery attached to it. Four shares were to be devoted to the expenses of establishment and pensions, and to each of the mutwalis—Rajabali Khan and Shakir Ali Khan—appointed by the founder to supervise the affairs of the trust, one share was allotted as remuneration for his trouble.* The deed of trust also contained a clause to this effect:—"In the event of a mutwali finding himself unable to conduct the business of the appropriation, he may appoint any one whom he may think fit and proper as a mutwali to act in his behalf."

The arrangements made by the founder continued intact until 1815, when, owing to the mismanagement, jealousies, and dissension of the mutwalis, Rajab Ali Khan and Bakir Ali Khan, the son of Shakir Ali Khan, who had succeeded his father in the office, Government stepped in and interfered under Regulation XIX of 1810. Under their orders of the 6th September 1815 (vol. 214), Syud Ali Akber Khan was appointed as "ameen or controller of the funds of the institution" on a salary of Rs. 200 a month, with Rs. 100 for establishment.

The Collector of Jessore was also ordered to make over to him as sezawal the estate of Syudpore, in that district, which forms the bulk of the property of the endowment.

The Local Agents at Hooghly were at the same time instructed to make a full and searching inquiry into the affairs of the Imambara in concert with Ali Akber Khan. Pending the result of this inquiry the Government decided not to dismiss the two mutwalis: they were, however, placed under suspension.

The report of Mr. D. C. Smyth, the senior Local Agent (on the ability and thoroughness of which he was highly complimented by the

* From the 1st April 1876 the administration and control of the ⅔ths share was entrusted to a committee of Mahomedan gentlemen.

Board) disclosed a misappropriation of funds to the extent of nearly fifteen thousand rupees, which amount had been expended by the mutwalis on items of personal expenditure wholly unauthorised by the trust deed. Pensioners and servants had been left unpaid by them, and were found to be in the greatest distress. (214. V. 13-8-17.) In August 1818 the mutwalis were formally dismissed, and Ali Akber Khan was appointed in their place. The management of the Syudpore estate, the gross assets of which were in 1223 (B.S.) Rs. 1,20,000, was entrusted to the Collector of Jessore (as an attached estate). The result of this last measure was an immediate improvement in the finances of the institution.

The dismissed mutwalis had meantime filed a suit in the Civil Court to contest the legality of their dismissal. This litigation lasted until 1835, and during this period a large surplus was accumulated. No less than Rs. 5,72,200 was, in 1828, invested in Government securities, and the total amount of the surplus in 1835 appears to have been over 8½ lakhs of rupees. The net annual income from the Syudpore estate alone amounted to Rs. 45,000.

The surplus was devoted to the establishment of the Hooghly College and to the construction of the present Imambara buildings and masonry revetment, as will be related further on.

In 1836 the Local Agents were the Collector, the Magistrate, and Dr. Thomas Wise,* the Civil Surgeon. The last-named acted as Secretary, and received a salary of Rs. 100 per mensem.

In 1836 the mutwali, Ali Akber Khan, who, it will be remembered, succeeded the two mutwalis who were dismissed for a similar offence, was deprived of his office for spending the lapsed one-ninth share (in spite of repeated orders from the Board to the contrary), to the extent of nearly Rs. 24,000. (218. V. 20-6-36; Government order No. 143.) During the correspondence which led to this result, it was laid down authoritatively by the Board that one of the duties of the Local Agents was to see that no malversation took place of the funds of any of the shares. They were (218. V. 21-3-36; No. 34) to have the exclusive management of the four-ninths share, and the mutwali that of the three-ninths. (223. V. 27-3-38; No. 146.)

On the dismissal of Ali Akber Khan the Local Agents took temporary charge of the institution. By Government order No. 12, dated 3rd January 1837 (V. 219), the Government appointed to the vacant office Syud Keramut Ali, of Jaunpore, the companion of Lieut. Conolly's travels, on a salary of Rs. 500 a month, and any surplus which the one-ninth share might yield over and above that amount. He joined the appointment on the 18th April 1837, Maulvi Zainuddin Hosaen having acted as the fifth mutwali until his arrival. Maulvi Keramat Ali appears to have been a man of considerable force of

* This gentleman is, I am informed by his nephew (an Executive Engineer in the Public Works Department), still alive and full of energy. He appears to have taken a most active part in all public affairs during his time; to have established the first hospital; to have started a branch Agricultural and Horticultural Society in connection with the parent society in Calcutta; to have been the first Principal of the Hooghly College, and also to have held the office of Deputy Postmaster. He built and lived in the house now occupied by the District Board and the Road Cess Office. He was the elder brother of the late Mr. J. P. Wise of Dacca, and father of Dr. James Wise, formerly Civil Surgeon of Dacca, who died in England about a year ago.

character and energy, and his somewhat excessive share of the former quality appears to have soon led him into conflict with the authorities. The Local Agents complained that he gave them no aid or assistance, and that their orders were met with "cavil and opposition" (*sic*). "He has forgotten the respect and courtesy due by him to his superiors, abused the confidence placed in him by spending sums of money for which he had no authority, and pertinaciously insisting on spending them after the receipt of strict injunctions to the contrary." He further added to his offences by returning to the Local Agents a roobkaree which they had refused to receive as couched in improper language. He was also complained against for abetting some students who had been expelled from the College, and for bringing unfounded charges against Mr. Smith, the Superintendent of the Syudpore estate. Nevertheless they record that "he conducts all the ceremonies with pomp and show such as had not been witnessed for many years past." After receiving severe censure and a warning from Government he appears to have devoted his energies to the new buildings, and to have been on better terms with the authorities.

It may be noted here that his claim to have one-ninth of the gross, instead of the net, proceeds of the funds was disallowed by the Board. (221. V. 25-4-40.)

I give below the budget for 1836:—

Receipts.

	Rs.
Syudpore	45,000
Miscellaneous	10,000
Total ...	55,000

Expenditure.

	Rs.	
Mutwali ⅛th	6,111	
College ⅛th	6,111	
⅔ths share	9,586	18,333
Surplus for College	8,747	
⅔ths share	13,367	24,444
Surplus for College	11,077	

It may also be interesting to note the state and distribution of the Mohsin funds for the three years ending with 1841-42. (221. V. 3-4-43.)

Share.	Average yearly receipts.	Average yearly expenditure.	Surplus.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
⅛th (matwali's)	5,995	5,995	.....
⅛th (College)	5 995	5 995	...
⅔ths	17,985	10,503	7,482
⅔ths	23,980	18,755	5,225

The surplus on the 31st March 1842 was Rs. 34,883 (of which Rs. 18 397 belonged to the $\frac{4}{9}$ths share and Rs. 16,486 to the $\frac{5}{9}$ths) in addition to the large sum invested in Government securities.

In connection with the Imambara I give below the rules issued by the Magistrate in 1831 for regulating the observance of the Mohurrum:—

"1. No natives except police-officers are to be permitted to parade the streets with swords, sticks, or arms of any description.

"2. No fireworks are to be discharged within the town of Chinsurah.

"3. No native music is to be played, nor are drums to be beaten near the houses of the European gentlemen, and in like manner the music is to cease when met by any carriages or horses.

"4. The natives may proceed in procession agreeably to established usage and by the same roads that they did last year on the Dopuhreea Matum and the Kutl Keerat, and also to Kurbulah.

"5. All riot and disturbance of every description is to be prevented, and the persons causing the same are to be immediately taken up.

"6. The European soldiers are to be particularly directed and warned not to interfere in the slightest way with the religious ceremonies or processions, and any soldier acting contrary thereto is to be immediately apprehended and lodged in the main guard."

THE CHINSURAH IMAMBARA.

Besides the Imambara, an account of which has been given above, there is another situated in Moghultolee Lane, Burrabazar, Chinsurah, which also came under the temporary management of the Local Agents at Hooghly about the year 1836. This Imambara was founded by a rich Persian merchant named Haji Karbalai Muhammad, who came and settled in Chinsurah for the purpose of trade. He appears to have executed in the year 1801 a deed of trust under which he endowed the Imambara with lakhraj property at Cossimpore (now better known as Mulla Kassim's hât) and at Bansberia for the performance of religious ceremonies in connection therewith.

The trust property at Mulla Kasim's hât yields an annual income of Rs. 420, and that at Bansberia of Rs. 172-12; total Rs. 591-12. This income is spent as follows:—

	Annually.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
(a) Pay of gomashta for collecting rents ...	108	0	0
(b) Do. of a nagdi for ditto ...	78	0	0
(c) Do. of sweeper at the Imambara ...	48	0	0
(d) Rent of the Imambara land (situated in the Chinsurah khas mehal)	7	8	0
(e) Municipal taxes	5	0	0
(f) Allowance to the mutwalis (Agha Mahomed Mehdi and Mehdi Ali, two brothers) ...	240	0	0
(g) Remaining for religious ceremonies ...	105	4	0
Total ...	591	12	0

This Imambara is now in a dilapidated condition, several arches and portions of the walls having tumbled down.*

There is also a small Imambara in Crooked Lane, Chinsurah, but it is of minor importance and of more recent origin.

Before concluding this notice of the work done by the Local Agents under Regulation XIX of 1810, I must mention that in 1841 they took and held charge for some time of the temple at Guptipara. This was endowed with valuable land and other property by one of the Rajas of Burdwan, before the time of the decennial settlement, for the celebration of Hindu religious ceremonies, repair of temples, and maintenance of priests employed therein. The dandi or mohunt, who, the Collector says, "is supposed by the virtue of his office to become so etherealised as to eschew all the follies and feelings springing from more worldly appetites," by no means came up to these high expectations. He "perpetrated many acts inconsistent with his avowed duties," and was eventually deposed from the *guddi*. This endowment has an unfortunate tendency for trouble, as is shown by the results of much modern litigation in regard to its affairs.

HOOGHLY IMAMBARA BUILDINGS.

The existence of large surplus to the credit of the Mohsin Fund has been mentioned at page 131. A part of this was devoted to the construction of the handsome buildings and river revetment which now form such a prominent object in the topography of Hooghly and its river scenery. Considerable discussion ensued about 1830 as to the agency by which these buildings were to be erected. The aid of the Public Works Department was at first called in, and Messrs. Burn and Co. were also asked to submit plans and estimates. The Governor of Bengal appears to have paid a visit to Hooghly in January 1841, and to have decided, after an inspection of the Imambara, that the work was to be solely entrusted to the mutwali, the engineering officers of Government confining themselves to the general duty of seeing that the money spent was properly applied. (223. V. 12-1-41.) The revetment appears to have cost in round numbers Rs. 60,000. (216. V. 16-10-35.) I do not find any account of the actual cost of the buildings, but the estimate was Rs. 2,85,000, and an advance of Rs. 50,000 appears to have been given to enable the mutwali to begin the work in August 1845. (220. V. 3-4-39.)

The present, or seventh, mutwali, Maulvi Ashrafuddin Ahmed, son of the late Nawab Amir Ali, who succeeded Maulvi Keramut Ali in 1875, informs me that the cost was Rs. 2,17,413, and that the work was completed in May 1861. The tower clock was procured from England at a cost of Rs. 11,721.

Baboo Badan Chunder Chaudhari, the first Assistant Surgeon appointed to the Imambara Hospital in 1842, has given me, from memory, the following account of the old buildings :—†

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* For this information I am indebted to Maulvi Abdus Salaam, M.A., Deputy Magistrate of Hooghly.

† The present mutwali informs me that the old buildings were erected in 1694, in the reign of Aurunogzebe, by Mahomed Mutahar, of whom Mohamed Mohsin was a connection through his daughter Manoo Jan Khanam.

"The old Imambara building, on the site of which the present buildings stand, was an ordinary one-storied building. That portion in which the mutwali used to live was, however, two-storied. The public road passed along its southern side. The door of the old building was large and wide, and roofed. The guards were placed on its western side. This door opened on to an open space, which was under the same roof with the prayer-hall. Pillars of a quadrangular form, painted with black and white stripes, supported the roof. On the southern side of this lay a range of rooms, some of which were occupied by the officials, others being used for the toshakhana. The prayer-hall was on the eastern side of the open space, and its floor was a little raised. It was very spacious, and could contain more than 200 votaries assembled on festival days. The hall was well furnished and decorated with paintings and sacred texts. On Mohurrum days the chandeliers, lanterns, and glasses, which hung from the roof, afforded a brilliant light.

"The pulpit lay in front of the prayer-hall, which had at its foot figures of two huge sharks. On Mohurrum or other festive days the priests read from this pulpit verses describing the mournful deaths of Hassan and Hossain, sons of Ali, son-in-law of Mahomed the Prophet. The scene generally presented a solemnity suited to the occasion.

"The Tazeah stood on the west of the open space, in front of the prayer-hall, having figures of peacocks, one on each side.

"To the north of this was a large compound extending to a two-storied building which stood on the bank of the river, and on the site of which the present prayer-hall has been built. The upper rooms were occupied by the Madrasha, the lower ones by an English school, since removed to Chinsurah. In the south-western corner was an excellent hummum (bath). It looked very beautiful, and had a cupola at the top. North of this was the sufakhana, where *unani* medicines were dispensed; but Dr Wise about 1835 opened a branch hospital, which very shortly after was removed to a separate building. On the southern side of the road, in front of the Imambara, there were a few rooms, from one of which the sound of a gong indicated the time. To the west of this was a large compound.

"On the north-western side, bordering the road, there was a mosque, which the late mutwali, Keramut Ali, broke down. In this mosque the Mouasim chanted forth his azan several times in the day and night, as is usual with the Mahomedan devotees.

"The road in front of the Imambara had on both sides rows of debtaru tree (*pinus longifolius*). A market was held along the sides of this road twice a week, where vegetables and other articles for native consumption were sold. The assemblage of people was greater than it is now, and the bazar was in a more flourishing state. The sight it now presents is quite different. The old houses and buildings have been destroyed, and their owners have gone to other places."

The Baboo thinks that the old buildings were ample for all necessary purposes, and that the erection of the present structure was a somewhat unnecessary waste of money.

CHAPTER X.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Chinsurah military affairs.
Chinsurah charities.
Imambara Hospital.
Natural calamities.
Stationery.
Office matters.
Suspension of Judge.
Governor-General's visit to Hooghly.
Public buildings.
Slavery.
Social matters.
A Tichborne case.
The Sebundy corps.
Mutiny at Barrackpore.
Agri-Horticultural Society.
Vaccination.
G. T. Survey.
Seoraphuli Raj.
Botanical Gardens at Howrah.

No account of Hooghly would be complete without some reference to the military affairs of Chinsurah. It appears to have been originally intended to use it as a depôt for the purpose of acclimatising young soldiers newly arrived from Europe. The arrival of the first draft in 1826 has already been mentioned on page 15. They must have occupied the old Dutch barracks, as the magnificent ranges now existing were not built by Captain W. Bell until 1829. In this year, too, a committee was held on the subject of the arrangements to be made for the reception of a whole regiment of European troops, and in 1831, 8½ beeghas of land were taken from the Khas Mehal for the purpose of a regimental bazar. In this year the 60th Regiment was permanently established at Chinsurah, the married officers and non-commissioned officers being permitted to reside in the town. (168. V. 14-4-31.) This arrangement appears to have lasted until about 1840, for the Collector, writing in 1843, says :—"Formerly a regiment of Queen's troops was quartered at Chinsurah, but for the last three years, though there have been depôts of recruits and one or two regiments, they only remained a short time." (203. V. 4-10-43.) At the time of writing the above, he says that "there were no troops at Chinsurah, but that a large number of recruits was shortly expected," and he mournfully regrets, in a later letter, the falling off in the excise revenue caused by the absence of troops. The barracks were finally vacated by the Military Department in 1871, but they are still under their superintendence, and those who rent quarters in them do so on condition of vacating them at one month's notice in case they should again be required for troops. To control the soldiers and to protect the inhabitants from their vagaries, a special establishment was allowed of two European constables, with one havildar, and 16 sepoys from the provincial battalion. (18. V. 16-5-26.) A house was hired for their accommodation, and called the "town-guard."

Stringent restrictions were placed on the movements of the European soldiers. They were only allowed to walk on the Bandel and Chandernagore roads as far as the bridge and the *Tolaphatak* respectively. They were expressly forbidden to talk to or interfere with the convicts working on those roads or in other parts of the town. They were not to go into the bazar without a pass from the Commanding Officer, and were forbidden to wear their side-arms when off duty. The European constables and the havildars under them had to see the soldiers in their barracks at gun-fire or at drum-beat at 8 p.m., and afterwards to visit the guards. They were only allowed to buy liquor from their own canteen or from sellers authorised by the Colonel. Other necessary excise arrangements were made by the Collector, who nevertheless had to complain of their "vicious propensity to ardent spirits."

This propensity was a source of constant trouble to the authorities and of terror to the native inhabitants. There were constant affrays and skirmishes between the soldiers and the police, in which the latter were generally outnumbered and worsted. In 1830 the Commanding Officer invokes the aid of the Magistrate in preventing Thomas Atkins from selling his shirts, socks, &c., in order to procure money to buy liquor. The Magistrate, on his part, requested the Colonel to prevent his young officers from "perambulating the streets by night armed with spears and fire-arms for hunting dogs and cats, and by day baiting with their dogs cows grazing in the fields." The Colonel reports that "the station is at this moment *inundated* with spirits," and remonstrates against the "shameful manner in which spirits are sold to soldiers and their wives in defiance of orders."

That Thomas Atkins was a real source of terror to the peacefully-disposed inhabitants of the bazaar, the following reports of his "pleasantries," as made by the European constables, will amply show :—

29-7-31.—A soldier supplies himself with brickbats from a heap on the road-side and barricades a narrow lane, refusing to allow any one to pass by. He indulged in this amusement for several hours and until overpowered by the police.

11-10-31.—Two soldiers are seen leading a native through the bazaar with a rope, after tying his hands behind him.

14-2-36.—Another takes 50 cheroots from a shop without paying for them, and on the shopkeeper venturing to remonstrate, stabs him through the shoulder with his bayonet and escapes into cantonments.

4-5-36.—A soldier, after breaking all to pieces a palanquin which he met on the road, enters the house of one Hosan Bux, breaks all his cooking utensils, and strikes his wife with a brickbat.

7-5-36.—A drunken soldier tries to seize everything within his reach,—tape, buttons, &c. On being remonstrated with, draws his bayonet.

Over Thomas Atkins' behaviour to the women of the town it is necessary to draw the veil of silence.

The letter which is reproduced below represents the feelings of the inhabitants in their own words. Babu Lal Behari Dutt tells me that a still worse state of terrorism existed in 1858, when the troops returned from up-country flushed with victory and full of resentment after the events of the Mutiny. No fewer than 20 European constables were, he says, procured from Calcutta on this occasion. . .

No. 97.

FROM BABOO ESHAN CHANDRA BANERJEE,

Hony. Secretary, Municipal Committee.

TO G. P. LEYCESTER, ESQ.,

Magistrate of Hooghly.

SIR,

"I AM directed by the Municipal Committee to bring to your notice a nuisance which has of late assumed so serious an aspect and created such an unusual excitement in the minds of the people, that the adoption of some severe measures, and that immediately, for the restoration of confidence is imperatively called for. The soldiers from time to time stationed at Chinsurah have never been, unfortunately, on amicable terms with the inhabitants. The over-anxiety, and even the timidity, which these latter manifest in keeping themselves out of the way of the troops, partly in consequence of their ignorance of the laws but chiefly from an impossibility of obtaining prompt assistance from the police, and the difficulty of eventually recognising the offenders, have all along been taken an unfair advantage of. But all this was looked upon by the soldiers in the light of diversions and pleasantness, superinduced by the intoxicating nature of the liquor, under the influence of which such mischievous propensities were indulged: the people, too, making a merit of what they did not think fit and prudent to withstand, apparently participated in their rather unpalatable jocularities, but never seriously entertained thoughts of prosecuting them. But the soldiers now stationed here seem to be above all conciliatory measures. They are almost always to be found parading in large bodies the public thoroughfares, and in some instances armed with heavy cudgels. These they most unmercifully apply on all they take a fancy for, and make no distinction of caste or colour, age or sex. But the mischief perpetrated by them is not confined even here. They have in more instances than one violently forced themselves into shops and private dwellings, and the committee have strong reasons to suspect they have not in these cases evinced a backwardness to commit petty thefts. But what outrages the feelings of the community most painfully, and makes them heap on the heads of these delinquents curses not loud but deep, is the brutality and savageness with which they have attacked the modesty of the sex, and forced some young and innocent women, whom the strong calls of necessity had alone exposed to the views of these inhuman wretches, in broad day light and in the presence of many, to be reluctant victims of their lust.

"*2nd.* These, the Committee are confident, are grave charges, and they would have hesitated to prefer them against the troops had not these charges been strongly confirmed by the fact that a murmur for grievances

of the nature I have described above runs through almost all classes of the people here, and it is to be presumed this is not entirely unknown to you from the complaints already before you. Others have hitherto refrained from preferring complaints against them only from a consideration of the difficulties they will experience in substantiating their charges.

"*3rd.* The Municipal Committee is fully satisfied that yourself and the police use proper precautions to check these outrages, but they apprehend that the means at present at the disposal of the police are insufficient for the purpose, and therefore the Committee trust that you will be pleased to strengthen the hands of the police in a manner that will at once restore confidence and peace to the inhabitants. The Officer Commanding the troops may also be applied to look after them sharply and have a roll-call at certain hours of the day and at night, and all absentees punished. The Committee thinks that it is an invariable rule in all military cantonments not to allow the men to go out of the barracks after a certain hour of the night, but these men seem to be exempted from this wholesome check, as they are seen to be wandering about in the streets doing mischief late at night. The Commanding Officer may do a great deal by enforcing this rule.

I have &c.,

(Sd) ESHAN CHANDRA BANERJEE,

Hony. Secretary, Municipal Committee.

CHINSURAH,

The 19*th March* 1842."

THE CHINSURAH POOR FUND.

This excellent charity was established by the Dutch Government antecedent to the capture of Chinsurah by the English in 1795. It was composed mainly of bequests and donations from charitable persons, and to these sources of revenue were added all confiscated property and the fines imposed by the European Court. The nominal capital in 1795 was Rs. 24,927. During the period that Chinsurah remained in our hands (see page 13), the English Government, at the request of the Special Commissioner, Mr. Richard Birch, made an allowance to the fund of sicca Rs. 200 per mensem, and left its administration, as they found it, in the hands of the "church-wardens of the Reformed Church with the assistance of a Secretary." When Chinsurah was restored in 1817, the capital had been increased to Rs. 32,927 by a bequest of Rs. 4,000 by Mrs. Yeats, and by the proceeds of a mortgage loan. The capital of the fund was appropriated by the Dutch Government, which paid over the amount of the pensions monthly to the church-wardens for *distribution*. They were not, however, allowed by the Dutch any voice in the management or control of the capital of the fund. After the cession of Chinsurah to the English in 1824, the fund was found to be in anything but a flourishing condition. The capital itself, amounting then to Rs. 38,045, had vanished, with the Dutch, to

Batavia. It had yielded a nominal monthly income of Rs. 158-8, which was only half the amount of the actual disbursements Government therefore granted a monthly grant of Rs. 281 for permanent and of Rs. 46 for temporary relief, and at the same time ordered that, as pensions lapsed, the expenditure was to be brought down to the actual income of Rs. 158-8. This did not actually occur until May 1833. (15. V. 17-11-26) It was also ordered that as soon as the amount of the capital had been recovered from the Netherlands Government, the administration of the fund should be made over to the Local Agents. (Government order No. 1390, dated 30th November 1826.) This transfer was not made until early in 1828, when a bill of exchange for Rs. 38,045 was received from the Governor of Batavia. Owing to the depreciated state of the Dutch coinage, the bill only realised a sum of Rs. 35,400 (the loss by exchange being no less than 1,506 Spanish dollars), which was then invested in Government securities (56. V. 7-2-28.) In the above sum was included a bequest of Rs. 4,000 made to the fund by Mrs. Yeats, an account of whose will is to be found below.

The recipients of the fund under the Dutch administration were limited to "respectable" persons only, but when Mr Gordon Forbes was Commissioner, it was applied to "destitute" persons of all sorts, creeds, and conditions, and also supported a native hospital and a free school. (56. V. 2-8-27.) The pensioners were paid by the Collector in his capacity of Local Agent until April 1829, when he obtained sanction to have them paid by the Chaplain at Chinsurah in order to save them "the distressing journey" between that place and Hooghly. (56 V. 22-4-29.) Vacancies on the pension list were then, as now, filled up on the recommendation of the Local Agents with the sanction of the Commissioner. The names of the pensioners in the old lists are chiefly those of Dutch and Portuguese. The total receipts of the fund between 1828 and 1845 were Rs. 34,377, and the expenditure Rs. 31,631.

I may mention here that Mr. Vernet, a former Governor of Chinsurah, bequeathed to his successors in office a house for "the abode of the widow of any deceased Governor who was not in good circumstances." When Mr. Overbeck was Governor, he gave the rent of this house (Rs. 16 to Rs. 25 a month) to the Poor Fund, as there was no such widow. Eventually, I believe, his daughter was allowed to occupy the house as the widow of a deceased Dutch Naval Officer. (38. V. 26-1-32.)

MRS. YEATS' FUND.

By a will dated 21st November 1805, Mrs. Yeats, a resident of Chinsurah, bequeathed a sum of Rs. 4,000 as a trust. The interest of this sum was to be applied in the first instance to the repair of her own tomb and those of her two husbands—Peter Bruyers and Thomas Yeats. Any surplus was to be given to the Chinsurah Poor Fund. She also bequeathed to the station, as a burying ground for English and Dutch residents, a house on the Taldanga road, near Tolaphatak, with 60 beeghas of land attached thereto, and known as Ayesh Bagh. (81.V. 24-4-38.) She herself was buried in this garden, but this specific direction of her will was not otherwise carried out, and in 1825

Government made over the administration of the property to the Lord Bishop of Calcutta along with that of the church and cemetery. (222.V. 13-4-38.) As the latter was enlarged in 1833 (at a cost of Rs. 246 for 26 cottahs of land), it was probably not considered necessary or advisable on sanitary grounds to use the Ayesh Bagh for that purpose. Under the management of Mr. Herklots in 1828 the garden realised an income of Rs. 100, "and the interest of the proceeds of the house and trees another Rs. 100," which sum was "under the distribution of the Chaplain and himself to distribute to sick persons that are not otherwise provided for We render an account to the Bishop." (Demi-official letter from Mr. Herklots dated 13th April 1828.)

THE CHINSURAH ORPHAN CHAMBER.

This was a Dutch Committee, somewhat resembling our Court of Wards. It had charge of the persons and property of minors who had no natural guardians to protect them, and it appears also to have taken charge of destitute orphans. This institution was taken over by the British Government in 1825. The fund then consisted of Rs 713 in cash and Rs. 17,300 in promissory notes, which were made over for safe custody to the Collector. Mr. Herklots, the Fiscal of Chinsurah, was Secretary to the Chamber, and the members were Mr. Overbeck and other Dutch residents. (15. V. 5-12-25.) In 1837 the Secretary writes that the work of the Orphan Chamber "is fast drawing to a termination. The wards have gradually disappeared—some by death, others by majority, and when no minor remains the Chamber ceases *de facto*." No new wards had been admitted since 1825. (64. V. 25-9-37.)

The closing balance of the fund on 11th July 1845, when the Chamber ceased to exist, was Rs. 3,947. I have not been able to find what became of this sum. It probably "merged into the general revenues of Government."

THE BENCOOLEN ORPHANS.

A similar institution appears to have been maintained by the Dutch at Bencoolen. The orphans were in this case confided to the care of the Revd. John Marshman at Serampore. This arrangement was at first apparently intended to be only temporary, as the orphans were referred to by the Chief Secretary to Government as "placed temporarily in his school at Serampore," but it appears to have been subsequently made permanent, after reference probably to the Dutch Government. A grant of Rs. 30 each per mensem was made to Mr. Marshman for 23 orphans. and was gradually discontinued, as the orphans were married or otherwise settled in life. (15. V. 1-12-25.)

On the marriage of a girl or on the occasion of a boy's obtaining employment, the Government gave allowances of Rs. 200 and of Rs. 50 for "equipment" and outfit respectively. Funeral and medical expenses were also defrayed by Government. Among the names of orphans I find those of Fiss, Messam, Salmon, Young, Elphinstone, Bagley, and Austin.

THE IMAMBARA HOSPITAL

owes its existence to the energy, humanity, and public spirit of Dr. Thomas Wise, the first Civil Surgeon of Hooghly, and to the charity of Mohamed Mohsin. It was first established as an experimental measure in August 1836 at a cost of Rs. 330 a month (58. V. 12-8-36; Board's No. 113), and a lump sum of Rs. 800 for medicines and instruments. For a series of years past the sick inmates of the Imambara had received free medical advice, attendance, and medicines at a yearly cost of Rs 2.280, but nothing had been done for the sick poor in the town and neighbourhood. A two-storied house in the Chauk Bazar was at first hired, and subsequently the patients were moved into a building in Mogultoli Lane, which had formerly been occupied by the Madrassa.* It was originally intended to build a new hospital, and Dr. Wise asked the Public Works Department to prepare plans for it when making the plans and estimates for the College and Imambara buildings. (219. V. 26-7 37.) Dr. Wise's first annual report on the hospital for 1837 gives the following figures:—Number treated 5,024, of which cured 3,413, relieved 1,539, died 33, and remained on 31st December 1837, 39. The number of patients in 1838 rose to 7,239, of which 356 were *in-door* patients. The figures for 1887 are interesting for comparison, being 9,335, of which 554 were *in-door*.

We find Dr. Wise complaining bitterly of the apathy of the people in not coming for treatment until so late that they came, in reality, to *die* He gives several instances of the kind. One was the case of a man the bones of whose leg were broken by the fall of a wall. He had also an open flesh wound which bled freely. No attempt was made to stop the bleeding, and it was not until the *fifth* day after the accident, and when gangrene had set in, that his relatives thought of bringing him to the hospital. In 1839, Dr. Wise was appointed Secretary to the General Committee of Public Instruction in Calcutta, and was succeeded by Dr James Esdaile This gentleman appears to have enthusiastically taken up the subject of medical mesmerism, and to have obtained sanction to the employment at the Imambara Hospital of five assistants for instruction in mesmerism. (225. V. 14-11-45.) He subsequently started a Mesmeric Hospital in Calcutta, which apparently survived only the year 1847, having been abolished and " 16 mesmerics thrown out of employ " on the 31st December of that year.

To this hospital was deputed on duty Baboo Badan Chunder Chaudhari (who is still alive), the first Sub-Assistant Surgeon of the Imambara hospital. He was appointed by Government orders, dated 23rd February 1842, on a salary of Rs. 100 a month, and from this period the allowance of this sum, hitherto drawn by the Civil Surgeon, was discontinued. Badan Babu's own account of the practice of mesmerism will be found in Appendix Q. The Mahomedan community, headed by the mutwali, appears to have taken a great dislike to this gentleman. They got up a petition against him, charging him with being " proud and ill-natured ;" with not visiting the sick poor at their homes, and with leaving the hospital directly the Civil Surgeon's back was turned. They also stated that they considered his salary to

* It was removed thence to its present site in Chinsurah in August 1862, as the old building did not afford sufficient accommodation.

be a "misappropriation of the Imambara funds." Only one Hindu signed this petition. The Local Agents were fully satisfied with the Sub-Assistant Surgeon's explanation, and attributed it to a "tide of feeling in the Mahomedan community." I am indebted to this gentleman, who must now be nearly 'the oldest inhabitant,' for several items of information and verification in various parts of this volume.

NATURAL CALAMITIES.

FLOODS.

I find no allusion in the records to the disastrous floods of 1787 followed by a severe cyclone on the 2nd November, which is mentioned in Mr Geddes' *Experience of Former Famines.* The district, especially the southernmost portions of it, appears to have been in a chronic state of greater or less flood, and to have looked upon it as a matter of course; the embankment arrangements were not put on a satisfactory footing until after 1840, and many of the most important of them were in the hands of the zemindars. The first recorded floods of unusual severity were in September 1823, when the river Hooghly rose on the 28th and 29th of that month to an unprecedented extent.

Dharampore, Mulla Casim's Hat, and Bali, all in the town of Hooghly, were entirely submerged, and the roads rendered impassable. The Magistrate writes:—"The town of Hooghly is filled with men, women, and children, who have come in from the interior with their household goods and cattle." To provide them with shelter, temporary huts were erected on the site of the old Mogul Fort (now occupied by all the Government offices). Food to the value of Rs. 123 was distributed gratis to the poorest, and Rs. 138 was spent as wages of the able-bodied who were employed on the town roads. "The whole of the police thanas of Rajbalhat (now Kristanagar), Benipore (now Balagarh), Ulubaria, and Bagnan have either been completely swept away or destroyed, and the police-officers of Benipore had to take to boats. The extent of injury that has been sustained is beyond human belief." (8. V. 30-9-23.) The Collector, Mr. W. H. Belli, was ordered to proceed to pargana Mandalghat, which always suffered more than any other part of the district, and to ascertain by actual inspection the amount of damage done to the crops, houses, &c., of the ryots. His report appears to have somewhat exaggerated the amount of the losses, as the Board, after suspending the realisation of the Government revenue of the pargana, on the strength of it sent Mr. Barwell, the Collector of Midnapore, to make further and more detailed inquiries. He reported that the zemindars, in spite of the suspension of revenue granted to them, had realised their full dues from the ryots On being called upon to show their collection papers and to prove in detail their claims to remission or suspension, they at once offered to pay up the amounts suspended rather than do so. There is constant allusion in the records to similar conduct on their part. (13. V. 15-4-24.) A very severe storm-wave and flood devasted Mandalghat and the southern parganas in May 1833, and resulted in an increase of Rs. 2,04,972 to the balances of Government revenue already overdue for the kist of the following March. The Government on this occasion granted

suspension only to those zemindars who had given a similar indulgence to their tenants. The Collector writes:—"In these permanently-settled estates the zemindars have for years enjoyed very great profits in ordinary seasons, and it is just that they should in general bear the loss of unfavourable seasons, particularly when that loss has been increased by their own mismanagement and inattention to their own interests and to the welfare of their ryots." (51. V 28-10-34.) The Government sanctioned a suspension of the revenue of the year 1833-34, payment of which was to extend over two years, with interest at 6 per cent instead of at 12 per cent. Four zemindars were entirely exempted from interest on account of their humane conduct to their ryots. The conditions imposed were that they should remit all balances due from their tenants for the year 1833-34. It was also decided that the putnidars should share in the suspension on the same terms, and on their giving the same agreement to remit the rents of their ryots. (67. V. 29-6-35.) In August 1834 Mandalghat pargana was again under water between the rivers Roopnarayan and Damuder, and the flood was followed by a somewhat severe drought. The lives of many human beings and cattle appear to have been lost. (139. V. 11-2-34.) The executive officer in charge of the embankments attributes these constant disasters to the neglect of the zemindars to repair their bunds properly.

The next serious flood was in August 1844, when the Damuder burst its banks and bunds in 170 places, and reduced the whole country between (Bali) Dewangunj and Dhaniakhali to one vast sea of water. The Collector says that there had been no such serious flood since 1823. The water even reached Chinsurah and Hooghly, and filled the ditches and drains of those towns. This flood was also followed by drought, and the two together caused great distress and mortality. It does not, however, appear that any measures of relief were undertaken by Government. (207. V. 29-8-44.)

The next year, September 1845, again saw a similar state of affairs in Mandalghat and the south of the district. Not a stalk of paddy was to be seen after the floods for many square miles. The Burdwan and Chandernagore roads were under water in many places, and the four suspension bridges were threatened with destruction. Strange to say that in spite of the losses of the preceding year the Collector is able to report that "the appearance of the ryots exhibits no marks of poverty, and the pargana in other respects is in a flourishing condition. This is due to the moderate assessment of the *khalari* lands (salt tract), and to the profits of the silk industry." The loss of crops was estimated at 8 anas, and a suspension of revenue to that extent was proposed. The ryots attributed the disaster to the want of supervision over the Government embankments, which led to the waste or embezzlement of large sums spent ostensibly on their repairs. The Collector, to the great indignation of the Public Works Department authorities, supported this view. (109. V. 21-11-45.) This flood seems to have so entirely destroyed all the inner or zemindari bunds that the owners never again attempted to repair them. The inundation is described by one officer as 'frightful.' and although it appears, as regards the volume of water which poured over half the country, to have been quite as severe as that of 1833, there was this important difference, that in the latter

the water rose so suddenly that the loss of human life and of cattle was very great, while in 1845 it was but nominal, although the water did not subside for four to eight days. (187. V. 11-10-45.) This flood was also followed by drought, and not a drop of rain fell between the end of August and the second week in October. Distress and an increase of crime were anticipated in the cold weather of 1846. People had already begun to flock to Calcutta and Serampore for work. Rs. 500 each was advanced to the Subdivisional Magistrates of Dwarhatta and Jehanabad for the relief of any urgent cases of distress, but I do not find any account of relief measures beyond this. Nothing could show better than the above narratives the wonderful recuperative powers of the soil and people of this district, and that the damage done by floods, however severe, is only temporary, has many compensations, and is never followed by the dire consequences of a prolonged drought. They show also that even 50 years ago the people of this district enjoyed an amount of material prosperity which placed them then, as now, above the consequences of any merely temporary losses.

CYCLONES.

I find many references to the damage done to public buildings by a storm or cyclone on the 7th October 1832, but it does not appear to have been a very bad one. It was followed, however, on 21st May 1833 by a storm of "incredible violence." It blew a perfect hurricane for six hours with a deluge of rain. It was the time of the spring tides, and the flood tide came up during the height of the gale, which was from the east. The Superintendent of Embankments, writing from Tumlook three days after this storm, thus describes its effects:—"The Roopnarayan and Damuder rose *eight feet* above the ordinary level of the spring tides, and almost every embankment in the Hooghly Collectorate is swept away. The greater part of the country is covered with salt water, and there has been great destruction of property. The country presents such a scene of ruin and distress that I cannot adequately describe it." (48. V. 24-5-33) Nearly a year afterwards the Salt Superintendent writes:—"There are evident signs of great distress and want of usual extent of cultivation owing to the salt water. Sickness prevails to a great extent, and many have been entirely ruined." Remissions were, he says, necessary so long as the ryots shared them. (53. V. 21-4-34.) Again:—"Since the occurrence of that visitation, the sickness prevailing there has been most awful; so much so, that for several months the civil and criminal business of the division was nearly at a stop. Peons could not be induced to proceed there for execution of writs. Those who did, usually returned emaciated and with impaired constitutions." In June 1842 there was a cyclone, in which a fleet of Government arsenal boats was wrecked.

DROUGHTS.

The great famines of 1770 and of 1783 do not appear to have left any permanent trace on this district, nor do I find any mention of them in the local records. The drought which followed the floods of 1833 and 1845 have been already alluded to under that head. By far the most

serious drought occurred in 1837, when the rains failed early in September; tanks and jheels ran completely dry, and the price of food-grains rose 50 per cent in spite of large importations from Purnea, Dinagepore, and the Upper Provinces. There was a good deal of distress among the lower orders, and crime and dacoities increased, but no relief measures of a special nature were considered to be necessary, and the district appears to have passed through the crisis without any severe suffering.

EPIDEMICS.

After the rainy season of 1806 an epidemic prevailed in the neighbourhood of Hooghly, which carried off a great many of the natives. It was probably, like the "Black Plague" at Chandernagore alluded to at page 24, a severe outbreak of malarious fever.

Except these and the outbreaks of sickness and disease which generally followed the numerous floods, the Hooghly district appears to have been remarkably free from epidemics, and to have had a high reputation for the salubrity of its climate.

STATIONERY.

The figures for the consumption of stationery in the Collector's office, which I give below, afford some indication of the difference in the amount of work and correspondence carried off then and now:—

Year.	English paper consumed.		Remarks.
	Reams.	Quires.	
1827	6	1½	Average yearly cost of country stationery in Magistrate's office—1824-25-26, Rs. 326. Fixed yearly allowance of Collector's office for ditto in 1843, Rs. 55.
1829	7	16	
1830	7	3	
1831	6	18	
1835	6	16	
1836	6	18	
1838	7	10	
1840	9	15	
1841	6	6	
Total ...	69	4½	
Average	7	12	
Compare 1887	23	.....	

OFFICE MATTERS.

The Collector's office was first divided into departments in 1813, on the abolition, by Regulation XV of that year, of the post of dewan. The Collector was ordered to exercise personal supervision over all branches of his office, and to give promotion by steps in each office on the occurrence of vacancies. It appears to have been the practice, even as late as 1834, for the Collector to do judicial and revenue work at one and the same time. Thus a mohurrir would be recording the

evidence of witnesses in rents suits, while the Collector was engaged with other business. The Commissioner in the following year had to point out that petitions should be taken daily, and not *once a week*, which was said to be the practice of the then Collector.

In the year 1828 a Finance Committee sat in Calcutta to consider, among other matters, the reduction of returns and curtailment of periodical reports, &c. Another similar Committee, the immediate cause of whose appointment was the alarming increase in contingent expenditure, (40½ lakhs more in 1840-41 than it was in 1830-31.) was appointed in 1842. In 1836 a Committee, composed of Messrs. Smith, Pigou, Dorin, Halliday, and Scott, was appointed to revise the existing returns, forms, statements, &c. Volume 68 is entirely taken up with the recommendations made by them. The recent Salaries Commission, of which Mr. Beames was President, is an instance of official history repeating itself, but with this difference, that the majority of the recommendations of the former Committee were accepted, while those of the latter were not.

ABOLITION OF PERSIAN.

In the year 1836 Persian ceased to be the official language of the Courts, Bengalee taking its place. In reporting on the proposal, the Collector spoke of the change as "one of the greatest blessings we could confer on this country." The Persian language was still retained for *roobkaries*, but whenever possible, and in all correspondence between European officers, the English language was to be used. "All orders which the people have a direct and strong interest in quickly and correctly understanding shall be issued in their own language." Zemindars paying Government revenue of Rs. 8,000 or more were to be addressed in English as "gratifying" to them, "while their being required to reply in English will bring that language more into use and afford greater encouragement to its acquirement as well as employment to those who have already studied it with success." (59. V. 22-7-36.) The English were also substituted for the Bengali months in the revenue accounts.

In appointing Deputy Collectors preference was always to be given to those who knew that language, and in filling up vacancies in the lower ranks of his establishment the Collector generally wrote to the Principal of the College to nominate one of his most promising English-knowing students.

The Persian language was finally and completely abolished in the Magistrate's office on the 1st April 1837, the whole proceedings being thenceforth conducted in Bengali. This change was hardly felt in the Hooghly district on the magisterial side, as, with the exception of reports and roobokaris, all evidence, documents, &c., had been written in Bengali for many years past. The Magistrate says, however, that "the feelings of consideration for the people are duly appreciated by the great mass . . . . . to whom it has given a very general satisfaction." (177. V. 1-4-37.)

These changes were soon followed by a demand for an increase to the staff in the English Department. Writing on this subject in 1840, the Collector says:—"It is most difficult . . . . . to reconcile

with fairness the increase of labour with the numerical strength of establishments. I may say that I have witnessed the duties of my English Department *quintupled*, whilst there has not been a single additional assistance for the last 20 years." (82. V. 27-2-40.)

SUSPENSION OF THE JUDGE.

A somewhat sensational incident is recorded as having happened in 1837. Three Moonsiffs made a complaint against Mr. C. R. Martin, the Judge, who was thereupon suspended. One Noona Bai also came forward and charged him with having received certain sums of money from her under promise of bestowing Moonsiffees on certain persons nominated by her. At the same time the Government Pleader, Tafazzal Hossen, was suspended on a charge of taking a large bribe from a client on the plea that the money was required to be paid to the Judge, according to custom, in order to win the case. A full inquiry was held under the provisions of Regulation XVII of 1813, the result of which was the vindication of the Judge's character and the dismissal of the Government Pleader, who was succeeded in the office by Prasanna Kumar Tagore. Noona Bai was prosecuted for perjury and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S VISIT TO HOOGHLY.

The fondness of Warren Hastings for the river Hooghly and the frequent visits of himself and of his wife to Hooghly, Chinsurah, Sooksagar, and other places on its banks, have already been alluded to.

In 1814 the Governor-General made a progres through part of the district. The Magistrate was ordered "to join the fleet of boats belonging to the Governor-General and his suite . . . . . and to accompany his Lordship in his progress through the district until he shall apprise you that your attendance is no longer required . . . . . You will also prepare for the Governor-General a report on the state of the district." . . . . . .

TOPOGRAPHY—PUBLIC BUILDINGS, &c.

THE HOOGHLY FORT.

The site of the old Fort is now occupied by the Collector's house, the Road Cess office, the branch school, and the various public cutcherries between them and the river. It was formerly the residence of the Mahomedan foujdar Khan Jehan Khan, and Rs. 8,000 was advanced to him by Government in 1809 for the repairs of the various buildings. The old Mahomedan cutcherry appears to have been occupied, just as it was, by the Judge and Magistrate. The various buildings were not given up by the foujdar's family until after his death in August 1821. The district "Barrackmaster" was ordered to survey and map the site with a view of erecting upon it a new cutcherry for the Judge and Magistrate and of a circuit-house for the Judges of the Nizamat Adalat. (5. V. 26-4-22.) It was found that the land held by the foujdar as the property of the late Mahomedan Government extended considerably beyond the walls of the Fort. A part of this wall may

still be seen on the east bank of the moat which bounds the post-office compound on the west. In 1823 a gang of 42 prisoners was employed in pulling down the Fort and the residence of the late foujdar and in levelling the ground. The bricks of the old Fort were afterwards used to metal the station roads. The materials of the old Mahomedan cutcherry and of the late foujdar's house were sold for Rs. 1,500. Some 200 poor persons, who had taken refuge on this spot from the flood of 1823, were also employed on this work.

The lands occupied by the late foujdar's garden were left as an open space all round, and this area was in 1824 beneficially increased by the purchase of private lands at a cost of Rs. 21,000. (11. V. 5-5-24.) The tomb and mosque of Shah Chand were allowed to remain where they now stand (just south of the post-office), and the allowance of Rs. 3-10 per mensem enjoyed under the Mahomedan Government by Mahomed Manir for lighting the tomb was continued by the Governor-General for his life only. The translation of a roobkari regarding this tomb and mosque will be found in Appendix P.

A curious incident in connection with this mosque occurred in 1884. On taking up the land for the site of the present post-office compensation was claimed by the present holder of the mosque, and it was only disallowed on its being discovered that it was already the property of Government as part of the old Fort lands.

The old Dutch Fort, like those of the Mahomedans and Portuguese, has entirely disappeared. As far as I can discover, it occupied 65 beeghas in the vicinity of the old Dutch buildings adjoining the racket-court. (See frontispiece.)

THE ROAD CESS OFFICE.

This house was built by Dr. Thomas Wise, the Civil Surgeon, about the year 1832. The land was sold to him by Government: it measured 2*b*. 14*c*., and the price fixed was Rs. 200 per beegha. It was afterwards purchased by the District Road Cess Committee. (48. V. 29-10-32.)

SMYTH'S GHÂT.

This handsome ghât, to the north of the Judge's cutcherries, was built, as the inscription thereon tells us, in 1829 "by subscriptions given by some of the zemindars, Government amla, and mookhtars with a religious view, and the *chandni* at the expense of Baboo Chaku Ram Singh" The originator of this work, as of many others of the kind, was Mr. D. C. Smyth, the Judge and Magistrate, and the ghât still bears his revered name.*

THE COLLECTOR'S CUTCHERRY.

The present building, rented in 1819 as the cutcherry of the Judge and Magistrate at Rs. 100 a month, was afterwards occupied by the Collector as a cutcherry and also as a private residence. He received an office allowance from Government, lived in the upper story, and gave up the lower rooms to his office. The house was the property of Mrs.

* The ghât is now borne on the books of the P. W. D., and repaired at the cost of Government.

Plusker, and rented from her agents, Mackillop, Stewart and Co., at Rs. 100 per mensem. It was purchased by Government in 1856 for Rs. 20,000. The accommodation afforded not being sufficient for the large numbers of people attending the cutcherry on sale days, a small thatched house was built in the compound from the fees levied under the putni law, and was called "the sale bungalow." In it also were accommodated the offices of the Assistant and Deputy Collectors, for whom there was no other available cutcherry. The Collector, in bringing to notice the overcrowded state of his office in 1845, says:—"Mr. L. S. Jackson (then Assistant Collector) occupied a room which I gave up with difficulty, the size of which would stagger belief, being about 14 feet long 10½ high and 6 feet wide." (117. V. 25-2-45.) The question of new cutcherries both for the judicial and revenue officers was taken up in the following year, and much discussion ensued between the engineers and the local officers concerned. The Judge seems to have given great offence to the Superintending Engineer by speaking slightingly of his profession. He says:—"I propose bringing to the notice of the higher authorities the manner in which the Judge of Hooghly has been pleased to speak of Military engineers in juxta-position with tailors and coachmakers, such language not being particularly well adapted for bringing the long-pending discussion concerning the civil buildings to an amicable termination." (106. V. 24-7-46.)

THE OLD CIRCUIT-HOUSE,

built in 1829, is now used as the Joint-Magistrate's and Bench cutcherries and other offices.

THE PRESENT CIRCUIT-HOUSE,

formerly the residence of Mr. D. C. Smyth, the Judge and Magistrate, was purchased by Government on the 16th October 1856 for Rs. 16,000 from the trustees under the marriage settlement made between Robert Browne and Elizabeth Plusker, along with 48 beeghas of land. For this land rent is paid to the Prior of Bandel. The house was rented in 1819 at Rs. 100 per mensem for the accommodation of the Judges on circuit from Mr. Jacob Plusker, of Chinsurah, and appears to have been taken by Mr. Smyth when the new circuit-house (the present Joint-Magistrate's cutcherry) was ready for their occupation. The first circuit-house was, however, at Chinsurah, in a house rented for Rs. 50 a month from Mr. Decfholts, of which I am unable to fix the exact site. The only officers then allowed to occupy it were the Judges on circuit and the Superintendent of Police, L. P., when on tour.

COLLECTOR'S HOUSE.

The residence now usually occupied by the Collector was built on part of the old Fort lands by Babu Pitambar Pyne when Mr. W. B. Buckle was Collector. It is now the property of Babu Lal Behari Dutt, who also owns the celebrated garden of his maternal uncle, Jibunkristo Pal.*

* For an account of the three churches at Serampore, see page 29.

SLAVERY.

In the year 1796 a practice seems to have been prevalent "of purchasing young slaves for the purpose of making eunuchs of them, to be afterwards disposed of by sale." The Nizamat Adalat issued a circular on the subject, inquiring from the maulvies whether or not the practice was punishable under the Mahomedan law. The reply was in the affirmative, and all darogahs were therefore ordered to apprehend persons who operated on such slaves, even if the operation were performed with their consent. (27-4-96.) In the following year M. Desgranje writes from Chandernagore to the Magistrate of Hooghly as follows. (12-8-97.)

"Give me leave to address myself to you on the subject of a runaway slave girl, one of my waiting-women, who left me some time ago, and whom one Mr. Vogel has taken under his protection, although by no means authorised to it, but probably from such reason as is not decent to be mentioned, and which I cannot but be offended with. I wrote to him . . . . . to return the creature! But . . . . . he would not."

Regulation X of 1811 prohibited the sale of slaves imported into British territory, but it was held not to apply to cases of famine orphans and such like in British India. From a report made by the Magistrate in 1836, it would appear that such slavery as then existed in the Hooghly district was "entirely of a domestic character . . . . . and rarely brought to the notice of the authorities." It occurred only among the Musalmans, and "female slaves and young boy-slaves are to be found in the families of most Musulmans of any respectability." They are employed both in menial and household duties. Another practice extremely prevalent in the Hooghly district is for a person to take Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 and work it out as a slave or servant (like binding an apprentice in England). Such persons are called "ajeer," and execute bonds. There was a large number of slaves in Chinsurah under the Dutch, but they asserted their liberty when the English took it over, and no one claimed them back." (175. V. 17-2-36.)

SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE.

The amount of official interference exercised in the early days of our administration of the Hooghly district was a good deal more than under the present "reign of law." In 1828 we find the Magistrate sentencing to one month's imprisonment each the baker, his assistant, and the '*soojeewallah*' for selling bad bread and flour. In 1830 Mr. F. Watkins complains of his cook, Buksoo, having run away, "because I asked him to rub a pig's head which he salted yesterday . . . . . and I expect a gentleman to dinner at 3 o'clock . . . . . Being a cook and he salted it yesterday, I could not think it affected his *caste* (*sic*)." I do not find what punishment was meted out to Buksoo. The officer commanding the King's Depôt at Chinsurah in 1830 lodged a complaint against the butchers for "blowing the meat with fetid breath," but they seem to have been more fortunate than the bakers, and to have escaped with a warning. In a matrimonial quarrel in which the Magistrate's interference was solicited, a fellow Civilian writes in 1832 :—"The man had much better let his poor wife

go to the devil in her own way." The comment of Mr. D. C. Smyth on this letter is—" A good remark to come from a married man and a Magistrate."

The above officer in another letter makes a remark about the Bengalees, which is just as true now as it was then :—" They are perfectly skilled in the art of deceiving, but are not themselves less easily deceived or imposed upon." In 1845 I find a Hindoo Deputy Magistrate, Babu Issar Chunder Ghosal, writing to the Magistrate 'with great pain' to ask him to interfere to prevent 'the shameful practice' and 'remove the disgraceful nuisance' of the "most indecent bas relief figures of wood than which badness cannot conceive worst" on the cars of Jugannath in various parts of the district.

GAZETTES.

The *Calcutta Gazette* became the official organ of Government from the 1st November 1832.

The *Bengalle Gazette* was first printed and published at Serampore by Dr. Marshman in July 1840. Twenty-one copies were taken for the Hooghly district, one for each of the 18 thanas, and three for the Magistrate and Collector at head-quarters. Before the institution of these Gazettes, the Government Acts and orders were printed in the Persian version of the *Samachar Darpan*, published by Dr. Marshman at Serampore, and the first Bengalee newspaper ever printed in India. Copies were taken by Government for the use of its officers. (19. V. 4-3-26.)

REWARDS FOR KILLING WILD ANIMALS.

The rules on this subject in 1816 must have caused some olfactory annoyance to the Collector and his amla. The claws and teeth of tigers for whose destruction rewards had been paid were kept in a box in the Collector's office. A local inquiry had to be made, and the result recorded before any reward was paid. The heads were destroyed in the Collector's presence, and the production of 'false heads' was to be strictly guarded against and punished. In 1822 the skins of leopards, tigers, and buffaloes, for the killing of which rewards had been paid, were sent to Calcutta to be made into mail bags for the Postal Department. Judging from the amount (Rs. 38,483) paid as rewards for the destruction of 5,673 animals in Bengal in the two years 1822-23 and 1823-24, there was some ground for the Court of Directors insisting on full precautions being observed against fraud and abuses. (42. V. 25-6-29.)

A BENGALI TICHBORNE.

A *cause celèbre* which occurred in 1836 to 1838 created an unprecedented amount of interest and excitement. The person accused in the case, who is alluded to under the various names of Alukshah, Kirti Lal Panri Barmachari, and Pertab Chund Bahadoor, represented himself to be the last named, and the rightful owner of the Burdwan Raj. He is spoken of in the records as the '*soi-disant* Raja of Burdwan'

and the 'Pretender.' This person first made his appearance in the Bancoorah district in 1835, and gave himself out to be the late Raja of Burdwan, Pertab Chund. His story was that, under a religious vow, he disguised himself as a fakir, and in collusion with the family priests escaped from the funeral pile at Culna, on which another body was substituted, and, swimming off to a boat which was waiting for him in midstream, dropped down the river and disappeared. After performing his vow he stated that he had reappeared to claim the Raj. He was arrested by the Magistrate, Mr. Elliot, and was in August 1836 bound down by the Judge of Hooghly to be of good behaviour and to keep the peace for a year. In April 1838 he appeared at Culna at the head of a fleet of boats and a band of armed men, took possession of the palace, and issued circulars to the zemindars calling upon them to acknowledge and assist him. The Magistrate says that had he promptly marched thence upon Burdwan, the result would have been "the sack of that opulent city and the massacre of all those who were supposed to be inimical to his pretensions." This result was averted by the firmness and decision of Mr. Ogilvy, the Magistrate of Burdwan, who arrested the Pretender, along with an attorney, named Shaw, who was assisting him, and the bulk of his followers. One hundred and forty-six of these were released as being only menials and subordinates, and only the armed men were detained in custody for trial. After a long and difficult preliminary inquiry by the Magistrate of Hooghly, in which infinite trouble and annoyance was caused by the conduct of the defence by the attorney Shaw, the *soi-disant* Raja was committed to the Sessions on the 20th September 1838 on the following charges:—

(1) For fraud and imposture in assuming the name and title of the late Maharaja Dheraj Pertab Chand Bahadur, and personating the said Maharaja for the purposes of extortion and with a view of obtaining fraudulent possession of the Burdwan zemindary."

(2) Assembling a body of armed men and setting at defiance the constituted authorities "in aid and furtherance of the said fraudulent purposes."

I do not find in the records the result of the trial.

During the preliminary inquiry the Pretender was proved to be one Kirti Lal Panri of Gewari, in the Nuddea district, and was identified as such person by many of his old school-fellows. He was "unable to describe several of the most important occurrences of the late Raja's life, which, had he been the Raja, he could never have forgot." The late Raja was proved to have had a Roman, while the Pretender had a Grecian nose; and a novel feature in the case was the production in court of a painting of the late Raja by the celebarted artist Chinnery. It was also clearly shown that though family quarrels and dissensions had broken out after his death, no doubt had ever been cast on or hinted at the identity of the deceased Raja. One of the chief witnesses was Dwarkanath Tagore, who with the late Raja Rammohun Roy had been on intimate terms with Raja Pertab Chand, and had been associated with him in the formation of the Brahma Samaj. Many Government officers of high position, who had known the late Raja, were summoned from all parts of the country, and among these witnesses was the late

Mr. Dear of Monghyr. The inquiry lasted over six weeks, chiefly owing to the tactics pursued by Shaw, the accused's attorney. This person brought a criminal charge of illegal arrest and confinement against Mr. Ogilvy, the Magistrate of Burdwan. The case was tried by the Sudder Court and naturally ended in his acquittal. Referring to this case, the Magistrate of Hooghly remarks that had Mr. Ogilvy not acted with such courage and readiness, the *soi-disant* Raja would have "created a disturbance in the country infinitely surpassing anything we have seen since the time of Teetoo Meea." (178. V. 20-9-38.) This does not seem to have been an exaggerated view of the importance of this affair. The people of this district took the keenest interest in the fortunes of the accused. Like most designing persons of the kind, he had promised boons of remission and reduction of rent to the ryots, and the Magistrate in June 1838 says that it was most necessary to bring the case to a speedy conclusion to "allay the excitement which at present prevails with imminent danger to the peace of the country."

QUASI-MILITARY CORPS.

The *sebundy* or militia corps was organised for the purpose of "guarding the jails, the public records, money, and deposits." The force at Hooghly in 1795 was 1 jemadar on Rs. 16, 2 havildars on Rs. 9-12 each, 2 naeks on Rs. 7-10 each, and 50 sepoys at Rs. 5 each. Their uniform was red with green facings. They also furnished personal guards to the Judge and Magistrate and to the Commercial Residents. It was disbanded in 1803. The Provincial Battalion by which it was replaced was considerably stronger, and consisted of 1 subahdar, 1 jemadar, 5 havildârs, 5 naeks, 1 drummer, and 100 sepoys. All these were, if possible, to be provided for in the new force of civil burkundaz guards. (40. V. 1-10-31.)

MUTINY AT BARRACKPORE.

The Magistrate of Hooghly appears to have arrested 45 of the sepoys who mutinied at Barrackpore in 1824, in which year I find a bill sent to the Military Department containing the following items:—Executioner's diet: ropes: fetters: iron cage: Rs. 450 to the police burkundazes for arresting 45 mutineers at Rs. 10 each: "paid to head executioner for executing 12 sepoys at the rate of Rs. 6 per sepoy." The iron cage was for the exposure of the bodies or gibbets in accordance with the barbarous modes of punishment then in vogue.

AGRI-HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.

A branch of the Calcutta Society was established at Hooghly in the year 1836 by the exertions of Dr. Thomas Wise, the Civil Surgeon, who seems to have taken the lead in all matters of local progress and improvement. A public meeting was called in June of the above year, and a committee of European and native gentlemen was formed to carry out the scheme. Foremost among the latter was Jiban Kista Pal, whose own garden, near the present Judge's house, afterwards became so celebrated. The object of the "experimental garden" was to introduce new and improved crops by distributing cuttings and seeds of

sugar-cane, coffee, arrowroot, tobacco, cotton, grass, &c., to the inhabitants of the district. Donations of Rs. 5 and upwards were asked for, and the monthly subscription was Re. 1. Dr. Wise was Secretary and Treasurer, and was authorised to prepare a pamphlet in Bengalee, setting out the advantages of the scheme. Mr. D. C. Smyth, the Judge, gave his garden for the use of the Society, and an adjoining field was rented from Mr. Nickels, the proprietor of the Bandel Rum factory, at Rs. 14 yearly. Babu Lal Behari Dutt informes me that this experimental garden was about one-fourth of a mile due west of the circuit-house, on the Grand Trunk Road. It is still surrounded with a brick wall. The Society appears to have introduced the cassuarina-tree into the district, and I find several references in 1838 to the damage done to the young plantations by cattle and villagers.

VACCINATION.

For the introduction of this blessing in 1837, as for so many others, the district is also indebted to Dr. Thomas Wise. He took much interest in the matter, and procured sanction for an additional vaccinator. English *virus* was at first used, and this increased the natural reluctance of the people to submit to the operation. In 1843 the Medical Board issued a circular invoking the aid of the Magistrate in overcoming this prejudice, but "without violence or undue interference." In the correspondence Hooghly is described as being "peculiarly fortunate in its climate." (190. V. 5-6-43.)

GREAT TRIGONOMETRICAL SURVEY.

The Great Trigonometrical Survey was first commenced in Hooghly by Mr. Olliver in 1830. The operations were suspended in June 1831, and again resumed in March 1832. In 1843 operations were again carried on. the roof of the Hooghly College being selected as the first station. The greatest difficulty was met with by the survey parties owing to the active and passive obstruction of the people, and the operations were not finally concluded until after 1845. The old semaphore telegraph towers at Bhola and Dilakhas were utilised as observing-stations, and at Boga, Sathan, Niala, Aknapore, and Mubarakpore towers were built.

ORIGIN OF THE SEORAPHULI RAJ.

If the reader turns to the map, he will discover a little village noted down to the north of Serampore, of the name of Sharafully. It is distinguished from other villages only by the residence of the zemindar or Raja, who is usually called after its name. The Raja, who is of the writer caste, is descended from one of the most ancient and respected families in Bengal, the well-known designation of which is *Sudra Muni*, or the Jewel of Sudras. The original seat of the familly was at Patoolee, a few miles distant from Cutwah, and we find the zemindary of Patoolee marked down in the rent-roll of the Mogul Viceroys as paying a revenue of Rs. 52,000 a year. We may therefore conclude that this was one of the zemindary families which arose into note about the close of the seventeenth century. The principle which had been established a century before

by the Emperor Akbar, of admittng no middlemen between the cultivator and the State, began at the period to be relaxed, and those who had been appointed to collect the land-tax aimed at making the office hereditary in their families, and were in a state of transition from collectors of revenue to landholders The zemindary system appears to have been brought to maturity by Moorshed Kooly Khan, the greatest of the Mahomedan Viceroys of Bengal, Aly Verdi Khan, perhaps, excepted. Moorshed Kooly found it more convenient to apply the revenue screw to a limited number of large landholders than to a million of tenants The modes in which he exacted the public revenue from unwilling zemindars are too well known to need recounting. On some occasions he caused them to be dragged through a pond filled with ordure ; and this contrivance for obtaining the Government dues, however inodorous, was generally found successful in unlocking their hoards. It happened that a Brahman zamindar had thus fallen into arrears and was about to be consigned to this paradise, as the pond was called in derision, when Monohur Roy, the zemindar of Patoolee, stepped forward and paid off the whole debt. The Nabob was so much gratified with this act of generosity, that he conferred on him the title of *Sudra Muni*, or the "Jewel of Sudras," a name which the family has retained for nearly a century and a half. For several generations they vindicated their claim to this distinction by their liberal donations to various shrines ; and it is said that few temples of any note can be found in the country which have not received some tokens of their devotion and bounty. They were great benefactors to the establishment of Jugunnath, which owes its most productive endowments to their munificence. Partly from this cause, and partly because the ground on which the temple is erected is within the estate of the Rajah, the annual ceremony of bathing the image was invariably postponed till the principal member of the family arrived and issued orders for its performance. The late Raja Hurrish Chundra, who was fully alive to the honour which this distinction conferred on his family, in the midst of a hundred thousand of his fellow countrymen assembled from all parts of the country, usually rode to the shrine on horseback with half a dozen outriders and a long array of followers.

Within the last thirty or forty years a family in Serampore, of the Telee cast, has arisen from utter insignificance to great wealth, by establishing one of the under monopolies of salt which have grown out of the great monopoly of the Company. There are still living one or two of the ancient residents of the town who can remember the time when the grandfather proceeded to market with a basket of thread on his head, and was happy to earn four or five rupees a month by the sale of it. Although on one or two occasions they have exhibited the arrogance of upstarts, yet it is but just to acknowledge that, generally speaking, they have endeavoured to weaken the feeling of envy which their elevation could not fail to create, by peaceful, just, and moderate conduct. In the course of time the large estates of the Sharafully Raja were subjected to a partition, and a portion of them was allotted to a branch of the family now seated at Bali. Of this division a part had been mortgaged to this Telee family. In this country, as well as in England, the possessions of

ancient families, who are strangers to the principles of economy, are constantly passing into the hands of new men, who have risen to wealth in the course of trade. The mortgage was duly foreclosed, and the *parvenu* family become landholders and entered on possession of a portion of the land which forms the endowment of Jugunnath. It will of course be understood that in spite of all the consideration which their wealth confers on them, they are regarded by the community as infinitely inferior in distinction to the time-honoured family of Sharafully. In fact the difference between the two families may be compared to that which subsisted in popular estimation between Glossen the purchaser of Ellangowan, and the historical Bertrams. In an evil hour the Telees determined to arrogate to themselves the honour of giving orders for the bathing of Jugunnath; and having obtained the concurrence of the priests by offers which were irresistible, the head of the family proceeded with due pomp to the stage, and the image was bathed at his command, and the crowd began to disperse. The late Raja Hurris Chandra, as he advanced with his cavalcade, met the retiring multitude, and his indignation may be more easily conceived than described when he learned that the son of the hawker of thread had thus invaded the ancient prerogatives of his family. He rode up in haste to the temple, caused the chief priests to be bound and conveyed a distance of five miles to his own residence, and there subjected them, for three days, to every possible indignity short of actual violence. The intercession of the neighbouring zemindars, and of the most wealthy men in Serampore, succeeded at length in softening his resentment, and they were liberated on the promise of never repeating the transgression or paying the slightest attention to the new men—a promise which they have since held sacred.*

THE BOTANICAL GARDEN AT HOWRAH.

The Botanical Garden at Sibpore was founded by Colonel Alexander Kydd about the end of the eighteenth century with the object of collecting indigenous, and of introducing and acclimatising foreign plants. The founder died in 1793, and his monument stands in a conspicuous place in the garden. The institution is associated with the names of Roxburgh, Buchanan, and Wallich. The teak-trees in the northern part of the garden were planted with a view of growing the wood for ship-building in this country, but the experiment was a failure.

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* *Calcutta Review.*

CHAPTER XI

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

DUTCH CONVENTION OF 1759.

Demands on the part of the English.

ARTICLE I.

The Director and Council of Chinsura shall afford due satisfaction to the President and Council of Fort William for the insult offered to the British flag by the Commanders of Dutch vessels, and for the detention of several of our ships, which have been seized and stopped down the river, contrary to treaties and the alliance subsisting between the two nations, as well as for other acts of hostility committed by the said vessels.

ARTICLE 2.

The Director and Council of Chinsura shall indemnify both the Company and individuals for all losses caused by the commanders of their vessels, whether by their orders or not, and shall immediately give up all our ships, munitions, and effects which may still be in their hands.

Replies on the part of the Dutch

ARTICLE I.

The Director and Council of Chinsura state that as they have always entertained pacific sentiments, the troubles which have arisen and affected the good understanding between the two nations cannot but be a source of great pain, and that what has passed respecting the British flag and the insults offered has taken place without their orders and to their regret.

Those acts may probably have been committed by the people composing the crew under a misconception of orders. With this explanation it is hoped that the Governor and Council will be satisfied.

ARTICLE 2.

As Dutch vessels have also suffered great loss and injury, it seems hard to insist upon indemnification, but what there is in effects shall willingly be restored.

The Governor and Council are requested to consider this article in a spirit of equity. In the event of their not desisting, we shall endeavour to satisfy them.

Executed at Garhetty, the 1st December 1759.

Sd. RICHD. BECHER.

„ JOHN COOKE.

Sd. JOHN BACHERACHT.

„ J. C. KIST.

Demands on the part of the Dutch.

ARTICLE 1.

That the English shall cause their ally, the Nawab, to return, or at least to remain quiet in his camp, without doing us any injury, and that the articles of our settlement shall be approved, accepted, and con-

Replies on the part of the English.

ARTICLE 1.

We have already used all our influence with the Nazim, and will continue doing so with a view to induce him to withdraw his army as soon as the gentlemen of the Dutch Government have fulfilled his orders.

firmed by the Nawab as a principal in as far as they concern him, as well for the present as for the future.

The articles agreed upon between the English and the Dutch cannot be intermixed in the treaty which the Government of Hooghly is to conclude with the Nazim as principal.

ARTICLE 2.

There shall be a mutual oblivion of all that passed during the prevalence of troubles which have now ceased, as well as a perfect assurance of friendship, fidelity, and communication between the two nations through the respectable chiefs of each, without the toleration of any hostility on either side, under any pretext whatsoever. Each shall do his best to maintain this good understanding and to augment the welfare of both, without directly or indirectly aiding those who may desire to hurt either nation.

ARTICLE 2.

Approved, so far as this article does not contravene our alliance with the Nazim of the country, and shall be observed while friendship shall subsist between our respective sovereigns in Europe.

ARTICLE 3.

As the acts done have not resulted from a declaration of war, our troops and seamen cannot be considered as prisoners of war, subject to a capitulation, but simply as persons under temporary detention; they should, therefore, be released and allowed to depart with military honors.

ARTICLE 3.

We do not regard the Dutch officers and troops as our prisoners, but as those of the Nazim. We shall, therefore, be prepared to release them as soon as the Government of Hooghly shall have brought its negotiations with the Nazim to a close, with the exception of such of them as may wish to enter our service or may apply for the protection of the British flag.

ARTICLE 4.

That we shall be left in free, quiet, and undiminished possession of our establishments, commerce, rights, and prerogatives.

ARTICLE 4.

We have never interrupted the Dutch gentlemen in the enjoyment of their just rights or privileges, and have no intention to do so.

ARTICLE 5.

That all persons, possessions, establishments, lands, houses, vessels, belonging as well as to the Company as to individuals, and all dependent thereon, shall be declared free, and restored in the state in which they were in presence of the special deputies of the two parties.

ARTICLE 5.

All the vessels, barks, &c., in our possession shall be restored as soon as our demands shall have been complied with or an assurance given that they shall be on the part of the Director and Council of Hooghly.

ARTICLE 6.

The ratifications shall be exchanged with approbation of the Directors on the part of the respective Companies as soon as practicable.

ARTICLE 6.

Agreed.

ARTICLE 7.

Finally, the two parties shall be reciprocally guaranteed in respect to the execution of the foregoing articles.

Executed at Garhetty, the 1st of December 1759.

ARTICLE 7.

We do not see the necessity of this article.

Executed at Garhetty, the 3rd of December 1759.

APPENDIX B.

Guaranteed Agreement between the Dutch and the Nabab, 23rd August 1760.

Articles agreed on by the undermentioned Deputies appointed by the Directore and Council for the Dutch East India Company in Bengal to be performed on the part of the said Company and conditions granted them in consequence by the Nabab Jaffer Ally Caure, Sajah al Meulk Behadre, Mahaubut Jung, the performance of which said articles and conditions are at the request of both the contracting parties guaranteed to them respectively by the undersigned President and Council of Fort William.

Article 1st.

The Directore and Council shall immediately send away from Chinchura and their other factories all the Europeans they have exceeding the number of one hundred and twenty-five granted them by treaty. The said men may remain on board of their ships at Culpee or Fulta till an opportunity offers of conveying them to Batavia.

2nd.

That if they have erected any new fortifications or deepen'd or widen'd their ditch since the execution of their treaty with the Nabab, they shall be immediately reduced to their former condition.

3rd.

That if they have augmented their number of guns or their quantity of military stores beyond what is necessary for the ordinary uses of their factory, the overplus shall immediately be sent away in the same manner as is mentioned in the 1st Article regarding the men.

4th.

That they shall never suffer more than one Europe ship at a time to come higher up the river than Culpee, Fulta, or Myapore without the express leave of the Nabab first obtained.

5th.

The said Deputies on the part of the said Directore and Council do hereby renew, confirm, and ratify all the conditions by them agreed on in the treaty concluded between the English Commissaries on behalf of the Nabab and the Commissaries on the part of the said Directore and Council the 3rd of December 1759, and more expressly and particularly that part which limits their forces in Bengal to the number of one hundred and twenty-five Europeans.

6th.

The said Directore and Council shall now and at all times when the Nabab may require it permit an officer of his together with an English officer to review the men and military stores in Chinchura and their other factories. Or if any other means can be agreed on between the Governor and Council of Fort William and the Directore and Council of Chinchura whereby the number of the men and the quantity of military stores may be ascertained to the satisfaction of the said Governor and Council of Fort William, so as that they may be enabled to answer to the Nabab as guarantees for the security of his country. In such case the Nabab will not insist upon the review.

7th.

The Nabab's Duan Roy Rayen Ameed Ray on the behalf of the Nabab solemnly engages to the said Directore and Council that on their complying with

the before-going conditions they shall hereafter be supported in all their rights, liberties, and prerogatives in trade as granted them by the phirmaunds of the Mogul.

8TH.

That they shall in future be burthen'd with no new or unusual taxes or contributions whatsoever, and particularly that they shall be freed from the payment of the sum exacted from them for some years past by the Subah of Patna under the title of peshcush due for the priviledge of the trade of saltpetre; it not being just that the said Directore and Council should continue to pay for a priviledge that they do not now hold.

9TH.

That they shall have a free and uninterrupted passage for their ships and vessels in the river with the exception mentioned in the 4th Article, as also for their oxen, carts, cooleys, peons, cossids, &c., by land to their usual destin'd place with the seal of the Company and that of the Directore or Chiefs or other servants properly qualified without being subject to any impositions from any phousdars, jaguerdars, chowkeydars, droghers, or other officers of the Government.

10TH.

That in consequence of the several phirmaunds by them obtained, the Dutch East India Company's trade in the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa shall be free and uninterrupted in all articles whatsoever, excepting the purchase of saltpetre, of which the Nabab has granted to the English the exclusive priviledge.

11TH.

That the Nabab will order the account of their coinage in the mint at Cariem Abaad to be adjusted, and the balance which may appear due to be discharged, and that in future their business in the said mint shall be carried on without molestation or hindrance, and the nett produce be delivered without any detention or unlawfull deduction.

Done at Fort William this 23rd of August 1760.

The above-mentioned Articles having been duly ratified by the Nabab on one part and on the other by the Directore and Council of Chinchura are now sign'd by us, the Governor and Council of Fort William, as guarantees.

APPENDIX C.

Treaty between his Britannick Majesty and the King of the Netherlands respecting Territory and Commerce in the East Indies, signed at London, March 17, 1824.

ARTICLE I.

The high contracting parties engage to admit the subjects of each other to trade with their respective possessions in the Eastern Archipelago, and on the continent of India and in Ceylon, upon the footing of the most favoured nation, their respective subjects conforming themselves to the local regulations of each settlement.

ARTICLE II.

The subjects and vessels of one nation shall not pay upon importation or exportation at the ports of the other in the Eastern seas any duty at a rate beyond the double of that at which the subjects and vessels of the nation to which the port belongs are charged.

The duties paid on exports or imports at a British port on the Continent of India, or in Ceylon, on Dutch bottoms, shall be arranged so as, in no case, to be charged at more than double the amount of the duties paid by British subjects and on British bottoms.

In regard to any article upon which no duty is imposed, when imported or exported by the subjects, or on the vessels of the nation to which the port belongs, the duty charged upon the subjects or vessels of the other shall in no case exceed six per cent.

Article III.

The high contracting parties engage that no treaty hereafter made by either with any Native Power in the Eastern seas shall contain any article tending either expressly, or by the imposition of unequal duties, to exclude the trade of the other party from the ports of such Native Power; and that if in any treaty now existing on either part any article to that effect has been admitted, such article shall be abrogated upon the conclusion of the present treaty.

It is understood that before the conclusion of the present treaty communication has been made by each of the contracting parties to the other of all treaties or engagements subsisting between each of them respectively, and any Native Power in the Eastern seas; and that the like communication shall be made of all such treaties concluded by them, respectively, hereafter.

Article IV.

Their Britannick and Netherland Majesties engage to give strict orders, as well to their civil and military authorities as to their ships of war, to respect the freedom of trade established by Articles I, II, and III, and in no case to impede a free communication of the natives in the Eastern Archipelago with the ports of the two Governments respectively, or of the subjects of the two Governments with the ports belonging to Native Powers.

Article V.

Their Britannick and Netherland Majesties in like manner engage to concur effectually in repressing piracy in those seas. They will not grant either asylum or protection to vessels engaged in piracy, and they will in no case permit the ships or merchandize captured by such vessels to be introduced, deposited, or sold in any of their possessions.

Article VI.

It is agreed that orders shall be given by the two Governments to their Officers and Agents in the East not to form any new settlement on any of the islands in the Eastern seas without previous authority from their respective Governments in Europe.

Article VII.

The Molucca Islands, and especially Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, and their immediate dependencies, are excepted from the operation of the I, II, III, and IV Articles until the Netherland Government shall think fit to abandon the monopoly of spices; but if the said Government shall, at any time previous to such abandonment of the monopoly, allow the subjects of any power, other than a Native Asiatic Power, to carry on any commercial intercourse with the said islands, the subjects of his Britannick Majesty shall be admitted to such intercourse upon a footing precisely similar.

Article VIII.

His Netherland Majesty cedes to his Britannick Majesty all his establishments on the Continent of India; and renounces all privileges and exemptions enjoyed or claimed in virtue of those establishments.

Article IX.

The Factory of Fort Marlborough, and all the English possessions in the Island of Sumatra, are hereby ceded to his Netherland Majesty; and his Britannick Majesty further engages that no British settlement shall be formed on that Island, nor any treaty concluded by British authority, with any Native Prince, Chief, or State therein.

Article X.

The Town and Fort of Malacca and its dependencies are hereby ceded to his Britannick Majesty; and his Netherland Majesty engages for himself and his subjects never to form any establishment on any part of the peninsula of Malacca, or to conclude any treaty with any Native Prince, Chief, or State therein.

Article XI.

His Britannick Majesty withdraws the objections which have been made to the occupation of the Island of Billiton and its dependencies by the Agents of the Netherland Government.

Article XII.

His Netherland Majesty withdraws the objections which have been made to the occupation of the Island of Singapore by the subjects of his Britannick Majesty.

His Britannick Majesty, however, engages that no British establishment shall be made on the Carimon Isles, or on the Islands of Battam, Bintang, Lingin, or on any of the other Islands south of the Straits of Singapore, nor any treaty concluded by British authority with the Chiefs of those Islands.

Article XIII.

All the Colonies, possessions, and establishments which are ceded by the preceding articles shall be delivered up to the officers of the respective sovereigns on the 1st of March 1825. The fortifications shall remain in the state in which they shall be at the period of the notification of this treaty in India, but no claim shall be made on either side for ordnance or stores of any description, either left or removed by the ceding power, nor for any arrears of revenue or any charge of administration whatever.

Article XIV.

All the inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded shall enjoy for a period of six years from the date of the ratification of the present treaty the liberty of disposing as they please of their property, and of transporting themselves without let or hindrance to any country to which they may wish to remove.

Article XV.

The high contracting parties agree that none of the territories or establishments mentioned in Articles VIII, IX, X, XI, and XII shall be at any time transferred to any other Power. In case of any of the said possessions being abandoned by one of the present contracting parties, the right of occupation thereof shall immediately pass to the other.

Article XVI.

It is agreed that all accounts and reclamations arising out of the restoration of Java and other possessions to the officers of his Netherland Majesty in the East Indies, as well those which were the subject of a convention made at Java on the 24th of June 1817, between the Commissioners of the two nations, as all others, shall be finally and completely closed and satisfied on the payment of the

sum of one hundred thousand pounds sterling money, to be made in London on the part of the Netherlands before the expiration of the year 1825.

ARTICLE XVII.

The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at London, within three months from the date hereof, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same and affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at London, the seventeenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four.

[L. S.] GEORGE CANNING.
[L. S.] CHARLES WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN.
[L. S.] H. FAGEL.
[L. S.] A. R. FALCK.

APPENDIX D.

Done in Calcutta, on the 22nd day of February one thousand eight hundred and forty-five.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY.

ARTICLE I.

His Majesty the King of Denmark engages to transfer the Danish settlements on the continent of India, with all the public buildings and Crown property thereunto belonging to the Honorable the British East India Company, in consideration of the sum of 12,50,000 (twelve lakhs and fifty thousand) Company's rupees, which sum the Honorable the British East India Company engage to pay on the ratification of the present treaty, either in Company's rupees at Calcutta, or by Bills on London at one month's sight in sterling money, at the rate of exchange of two shillings for each rupee, or in such proportion of cash or bills at the above rate as may be most convenient to the Danish Government.

ARTICLE II.

The settlements and Crown property referred to above are—

I. The town of Tranquebar, on the Coromandel Coast, with the districts thereunto belonging, for which an annual sum of 2.500 gold pardaux, or about 4,000, Company's rupees is to be paid to the Rajah of Tanjore, and the following buildings and Crown property, viz.—

A.—Fort Dansborg, with buildings therewith connected, and thirteen brass guns mounted on the ramparts, and other stores.
B.—The Government House situated opposite to the Fort.
C.—A country residence for the Governor at the village of Porreiar.
D.—A garden, with a bungalow, at the village of Tittaly possessed by the Governor.
E.—A building in the town, with garden adjacent, used as hospital.
F.—A house in the town occupied by the medical officer of the settlement.
G.—A house and office on the beach for the Master Attendant.
H.—Two brick-built godowns.

Besides public roads, bridges, sluices, a number of fruit and other trees, and all other immoveable Crown property of any description whatever, together with such moveable articles as belong to the public offices or are destined for public use, the furniture and moveables in the Government-House not being herein included.

II.—The town of Frederiksnagore or Serampore, in the province of Bengal, comprising 60 biggahs, commonly called Frederiksnagore, and the districts of Serampore, Akna, and Pearapore, for which districts an annual sum of sicca Rs. 1,601 is to be paid to the zemindars of Sewraphully, for the time being with the following public property:—

A.—The Government House.
B.—The Secretary's house and offices.
C.—The court-house, with jail annexed.
D.—The church, commonly called the Danish Church.
E.—The bazar containing more or less 6 biggahs and 13 cottahs, with a range of godowns on the north side and two godowns on the west side, the remaining part of the ground being occupied by private godowns, the owners paying an annual ground rent.
F.—Two small brick-built guard-houses on the banks of the river.

Besides public roads and bridges, a canal from the fields of the village of Pearapore, through the adjacent villages, to the river, and all other immoveable Crown property of any description whatever, together with such moveable articles as belong to the public offices or are destined for public use.

III. A piece of ground at Balasore, formerly a factory, containing 18 biggahs 2 cottahs and 12 chittacks of tenanted ground.

Article III.

The Church of Zion, and the Mission Churches at Jerusalem and Bethlehem in Tranquebar, the Roman Catholic Church and chapels at the same place, the Roman Catholic Church in Serampore, the Serampore College and the Serampore Native Hospital having been built or established by private means, those churches and institutions, with all their goods, effects, and property, moveable as well as immoveable, are belonging to the respective congregations, communities, and societies, and are not therefore included with the present transfer.

Article IV.

The inhabitants of the aforesaid settlements, Europeans as well as natives, who continue to reside within the settlements, will be placed under the protection of the general law of British India, and their religious, personal, or acquired rights, as formerly enjoyed under the Danish Government, will be respected as all rights of person or property are throughout British India.

All suits commenced and pending in the Danish Courts at the time the treaty comes into force shall be carried on and decided by the same law as far as altered circumstances will allow.

The same will be observed in all cases of appeal subsequent to the treaty, but no complaint or suit which has been finally settled and decided under the Danish Administration and not appealed in due time, under observance of the rules for appeal then in force, shall be deemed appealable; nor shall it be lawful to bring forward again, subsequently to the conclusion of this treaty, by petition, complaint, or otherwise, such cases as have been already finally determined by competent authority.

Article V.

Nothing in the present Treaty shall affect the trade now carried on, or about to be carried on, by the subjects of his Danish Majesty in the ports of the East Indies, nor shall the trade be more restricted than it would have been in case his Danish Majesty had continued to possess the settlements now transferred.

Article VI.

The Church Missionary Board at Copenhagen for the Propagation of the Gospel shall be at liberty to continue their exertions in India for the conversion of the heathens to the Christian religion, and shall be afforded the same protection by the Government of India as similar English societies under the general law of

the land; the rights and immunities granted to the Serampore College by Royal Charter, of date 23rd of February 1827, shall not be interfered with, but continue in force in the same manner as if they had been obtained by a Charter from the British Government, subject to the general law of British India.

Article VII.

The Danish Government engage to meet all pensionary claims and engagements connected with the aforesaid settlements, and the East India Company shall not be liable for any such claims or engagements whatever, with the exception of the yearly payments of the soil to the Rajah of Tanjore and the zemindar of Sewraphully as mentioned in Article II.

Article VIII.

All sums not belonging to the Royal Treasury and under the charge of the Court of Wards or of any of the public functionaries of the Danish Government in their official capacity shall be received by such public officer or officers as the Governor-General of India in Council may direct, and shall be carried to account and administered by such public officer or officers in the same manner and under the same rules and responsibility as similar property is administered under the general law of the land.

Article IX.

The present treaty of nine articles shall be ratified and the ratifications exchanged in Calcutta within six months from the date hereof, or sooner if possible.

Done at Calcutta on the twenty-second day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-five.

Sd. P. Hanson.

Sd. H. Hardinge.
„ F. Millett.
„ Geo. Pollock.

APPENDIX E.

Table showing the price of grain in the market at Hooghly from the year 1785 *to* 1813, *comprising a period of* 29 *years, ascertained from the principal native grain merchants of this town, per maund of* 82 *sicca weight per seer.*

Year.	Rice. Attap. Fine.	Rice. Attap. Coarse.	Rice. Oorhna. Fine	Rice. Oorhna. Coarse	Dâl. Orror.	Dâl. Moosoore.	Dâl. Khesary.	Gram. Patna.	Gram. Country.	Wheat. Doodeh.	Wheat. Jermally.	Mustard Seed.
	Rs. A. G.	Rs. A. G.	Rs. A. G.	Rs. A. G.	Rs. A. G.	Rs. A. G.	Rs. A. G.	Rs. A. G.	Rs. A. G.	Rs. A. G.	Rs. A. G.	Rs. A. G.
1793	2 0 0	1 4 10	1 8 0	1 2 10	1 4 10	.....	0 10 15	0 14 10	0 10 10	0 15 0	1 0 0	1 4 5
1794	1 11 0	0 15 10	1 3 0	0 12 0	1 5 0	1 2 0	0 14 0	0 13 0	0 9 0	0 11 0	0 8 0	0 14 10
1795	1 8 0	0 15 0	1 3 0	0 13 0	1 15 0	0 13 0	0 14 0	0 14 5	0 10 10	1 1 0	0 14 10	1 2 0
1796	1 10 0	1 2 10	1 5 1	0 14 0	1 8 0	0 13 0	0 10 0	0 14 10	0 10 10	1 1 10	0 14 10	2 0 0
1797	1 9 0	1 0 0	1 3 10	0 13 10	1 4 0	0 10 10	0 7 15	0 12 0	0 9 0	.....	.....	1 0 0
1798	1 12 0	1 4 0	1 5 0	1 1 0	1 0 5	0 15 10	.....	1 0 0	0 14 0	1 2 0	0 14 5	1 4 0
1799	1 14 0	1 2 0	1 3 0	0 15 10	1 10 10	0 15 10	0 8 0	1 0 0	0 14 0	1 1 0	0 14 0	1 0 0
1800	1 10 0	1 0 0	1 2 10	0 15 0	1 12 0	0 9 0	0 8 0	0 12 0	0 10 10	1 0 0	0 13 0	0 15 0
1801	1 10 0	1 2 0	1 2 0	0 15 0	1 4 0	0 12 10	0 8 10	0 14 0	0 13 0	1 5 5	1 2 0	1 4 0
1802	1 11 0	1 2 0	1 4 0	0 15 0	1 8 0	0 14 5	0 10 0	0 15 0	0 12 10	.....	0 7 15	.....
1803	1 10 0	1 5 0	1 4 0	0 15 0	1 4 0	0 13 0	0 9 0	1 1 0	0 15 0	1 0 0	0 13 0	.....
1804	1 11 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 0 0	1 2 10	.....	0 12 0	1 5 0	1 1 10	1 2 0	0 14 10	1 3 0
1805	1 10 0	1 3 0	1 2 0	0 15 0	1 12 0	1 7 0	1 1 15	1 4 0	1 2 0	0 13 0	0 14 0	1 4 0
1806	1 12 0	1 7 0	1 3 0	0 15 0	1 3 10	0 14 0	0 10 0	1 1 0	0 13 0	0 13 0	0 10 0	1 6 0
1807	2 4 0	1 14 0	2 0 0	1 12 0	1 13 0	0 14 15	0 11 0	1 3 0	1 0 0	0 15 0	0 13 0	1 15 0
1808	1 15 0	1 10 0	1 7 0	1 3 0	1 2 0	.....	0 14 0	1 4 0	1 2 0	1 3 0	1 1 0	2 0 0
1809	1 13 0	1 6 10	1 4 0	1 1 0	1 12 0	1 3 15	0 13 0	1 2 0	1 0 0	1 2 0	0 15 0	1 14 10
1810	1 12 0	1 9 0	1 9 0	1 6 0	1 5 10	1 1 5	0 12 10	1 5 0	.....	1 7 0	1 5 0	2 0 0
1811	1 14 0	1 7 0	1 10 0	1 5 10	1 6 10	1 1 5	0 14 15	1 1 10	0 15 0	.....	.....	1 12 0
1812	1 14 0	1 8 0	1 6 0	1 0 0	1 6 0	0 14 5	.....	0 14 0	0 11 0	1 4 0	1 1 0	1 14 0
1813	1 14 0	1 4 0	1 6 0	1 1 0	1 12 0	0 14 10	0 12 0	0 13 0	1 1 0	1 4 0	1 1 0	1 13 0
Total ...	37 0 0	26 13 0	27 14 1	21 14 0	30 6 5	16 13 0	13 9 0	21 2 15	16 14 0	19 3 15	16 15 10	27 12 5
Average ...	1 12 4	1 4 8	1 5 4	1 0 13	1 7 3	0 13 16	0 10 6	1 0 2½	0 12 17	0 14 13	0 12 18½	1 5 3

APPENDIX

Statement exhibiting the aggregate number of dacoities and
1804 *to the*

Years.	Dacoity attended with murder.	Dacoity.	Affrays and violent assaults.	Murder.	Homicide.	House-breaking.
1804	1	37	7	8	...	8
1805	2	22	...	3	.....	2
1806	1	30	1	12	.....	3
1807	2	30	2	5	.....	2
1808	1	104	1	10	.....	15
1809	1	71	3	9	.....	14
1810	3	61	9	6	.....	81
1811	2	39	2	5	.....	44
1812	3	50	4	4	.....	86
1813	1	62	7	3	4	120
1814	1	37	2	2	3	109
1815	1	12	1	1	2	160

APPENDIX

Statement showing Crime and the Working of the Police and

	1826.					1827.					1828.		
	Number of cases.	Number of persons concerned.	Number apprehended.	Convicted.	Acquitted.	Number of cases.	Number of persons concerned.	Number apprehended.	Convicted.	Acquitted.	Number of cases.	Number of persons concerned.	Number apprehended.
Murder	15	84	74	6	68	11	29	22	11	11	10	24	20
Dacoity	20	143	139	14	125	14	85	74	15	59	6	39	33
Highway robbery	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	2	...	2	1	4	4
Burglary	20	51	41	19	22	21	48	40	24	16	22	44	34
Theft and receiving stolen property.	182	307	283	157	126	160	287	277	156	121	121	237	227
Child-stealing...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bribery	2	2	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Affray	33	173	143	11	132	9	105	99	74	25	16	79	71
Miscellaneous, including all other crimes.	632	1,546	1,546	759	787	370	1,241	1,241	416	825	537	1,700	1,700
Total ...	904	2,306	2,228	966	1,262	606	1,797	1,755	696	1,059	713	2,127	2,089

	1826.	1827.
	Rs.	Rs.
Amount of property stolen	18,292	12,526
Property recovered ...	7,604	658

F.

other heinous crimes committed within the Hooghly zillah from the year year 1815.

Theft of considerable amount.	Receiving stolen goods.	Arson.	Rape.	Perjury.	Forgery.	Total.
4	.....	3	.....	2	1	71
9	.....	2	.....	1	.....	41
12	.....	1	1	4	..	65
24	.....	1	.....	4	3	73
40	1	.....	.....	9	3	184
22	.....	1	2	7	2	132
18	.....	2	.....	4	1	185
3	.....	1	.....	5	.....	101
4	.....	....	.....	6	.....	157
5	5	1	1	8	3	221
4	3	1	1	1	....	164
2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	179

G.

Criminal Court between the years 1826 *and* 1834.

1832.							1833.					1834.				
Convicted.	Acquitted.	Number of cases.	Number of persons concerned.	Number apprehended.	Convicted.	Acquitted.	Number of cases.	Number of persons concerned.	Number apprehended.	Convicted.	Acquitted.	Number of cases.	Number of persons concerned.	Number apprehended.	Convicted.	Acquitted.
2	18	16	47	44	19	25	9	48	42	11	31	11	42	37	8	29
8	25	5	36	22	...	22	10	85	24	...	24	12	122	116	18	98
4	...	7	17	17	...	17	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	1	...
26	8	34	194	69	34	35	28	47	33	26	7	37	103	94	42	52
110	117	100	223	196	91	105	46	378	351	157	194	97	248	226	126	100
...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	2	4	4	...	4	11	1	1	...	1	1	2	2	2	...
15	56	19	105	97	61	36	1	154	144	76	68	9	76	66	26	40
1,121	579	838	1,789	1,789	697	1,092	1,266	1,704	1,704	836	868	440	1,409	1,409	737	672
286	803	1,021	2,325	2,238	902	1,336	1,371	2,417	2,299	1,106	1,193	608	2,003	1,961	960	991

1828.	1832.	1833.	1834.
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
13,443	2,458	10,396	13,189
665	1,291	1,146	6,612

APPENDIX H.

Statement of Dacoities from 1838 *to* 1842.

District.	Year.	Number of dacoities.	Number of men engaged.	Value of property stolen.	Number of cases in which conviction ensued.	Number of persons convicted.	Property recovered.
				Rs.			Rs.
Hooghly (including Howrah).	1838	14	292	6,629	6	9	169
	1839	13	208	2,819	2	5	72
	1840	20	224	10,299	2	9	74
	1841	15	288	8,698	2	6	143
	1842	29	370	19,525	7	29	547
Total ...	.....	91	1,332	37,970	19	58	1,005

APPENDIX J.

Statement of Dacoities from 1843 *to* 1855.

Year.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.
Hooghly	30	63	97	63	68	93	76	110	118	128	93	59	13
Howrah	15	16	21	33	23	28	26	24	33	40	27	9	1
Total ...	45	79	118	96	91	121	102	134	151	168	120	68	14

APPENDIX K.

Numerical strength, &c., of thana establishments in 1838.

Thana.	Number of pergunnahs.	Darogah.	Mohurir.	Jemadar.	Burkundaz.	Salary.
						Rs.
Hooghly	8	1	1	1	25	140
Bansberiah	2	1	1	1	10	80
Benipur	9	1	1	2	20	126
Pandua	8	1	1	2	15	106
Dhunneacolly	13	1	1	3	20	132
Harripal	5	1	1	3	20	132
Bydyabatty	10	1	2	4	29	181
Rajapur	8	1	1	3	29	168
Rajbulhath	12	1	1	2	20	126
Amptah	4	1	1	1	10	80
Jehanabad	8	1	1	2	20	126
Bagnan	6	1	1	1	15	100
Dewangunge	6	1	1	1	15	100
Ghuttal	4	1	1	1	15	100
Chunderconna	2	1	1	1	12	88
Oolooberiah	4	1	1	2	16	110
Kotra	3	1	1	1	15	100
Chinsurah	1	1	1	5	60	307
Total ...	113	18	19	36	386	2,302

APPENDIX L.

Statement of chakran land set apart for the maintenance of the village watch attached to zillah Hooghly.

Serial number.	Name of Thana.	Quantity of chakran lands entered in the books of 1799. Beeghas.	Quantity of chakran lands entered in the books of 1833. Beeghas.	REMARKS.
1	Hooghly	2,155	.....	
2	Bansberiah	953	661	
3	Benipur (Balagarh) ...	3,136	3,238	
4	Pandua	4,088	3,722	
5	Dhunneacolly	5,615	4,609	
6	Harripal	4,874	2,626	
7	Bydyabatty	2,963	2,978	
8	Rajapur	2,419	2,730	
9	Rajbulhath (Khistanagar) ...	7,042	7,609	
10	Omptah	5,384	2,128	
11	Jehanabad	8,194	7,237	
12	Bagnan	3,205	1,554	
13	Dewangunge (Goghat) ...	7,687	7,321	
14	Ghuttal	8,414	4,030	
15	Chunderconna	8,989	4,853	
16	Oolooberiah	877	41	
17	Kotra	1,202	1,418	
18	Chinsurah	.....	.....	
		77,197	56,755	
	Appropriated by zemindars ...	.....	20,442	

APPENDIX M.

No. 3628J, dated Calcutta, the 5th September 1881.

From—HORACE A. COCKERELL, ESQ., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial, Political, and Appointment Departments,

To—The Commissioner of the Burdwan Division.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 593, dated the 28th December last, submitting with your remarks and recommendations a report from the Magistrate of Hooghly on the subject of the pharidari lands in that district, and in reply to communicate the following remarks and orders of the Lieutenant-Governor, which have been passed after consulting the Board of Revenue and the Inspector-General of Police on the proposals made in your letter.

2. The orders of Government are required on the following questions in connection with these lands :—

(I) Whether the pharidari lands are liable to resumption by Government.

(II) If so, whether those lands only which have lapsed should be resumed, or whether measures should be taken for the resumption of all the pharidari lands in the district.

(III) Whether the rents derived from the resumed lands should be credited to Government for general police expenditure, or whether they should be devoted to the payment of a new set of pharidars and peons on fixed salaries, as proposed by Mr. Davis, the District Superintendent.

3. In regard to the first point, I am to say that the Lieutenant-Governor accepts the opinion of the Board of Revenue, in which the Legal Remembrancer concurs, that on the death of a pharidar and the appointment becoming permanently vacant, the service lands which he held are liable to resumption. As the

lands become available they should accordingly be resumed. a notice in each case being sent by the Magistrate to the Collector, who will proceed to make a settlement of them. The zemindar within whose estate the lands are situated should be offered the first option of settlement.

4. With regard to the second point, the Inspector-General of Police observes that the resumption of pharidari lands as vacancies occur will be a work of time, and that no real benefit to police administration will accrue until the whole body of pharidars is abolished. He accordingly suggests, as worthy of consideration, whether all such lands should not be resumed without reference to existing vacancies, on the condition that the pharidars are exempted from the performance of all police duties whatsoever. The Lieutenant-Governor is not prepared to sanction the adoption of such a course, and he desires that for the present only those lands where the appointment of pharidar has become vacant may be resumed.

5. In regard to the third point, the District Superintendent has proposed that the rents derived from the resumed lands should form a fund for the maintenance of a new set of pharidars, naib pharidars, and peons to be employed in looking after the village police. In these proposals Mr. Monro does not concur. He is of opinion that so long as the village police remain, as at present, the servants of the *punchayets*, the regular police cannot exercise any effective supervision over them, beyond seeing that they get their pay and report crime at the thana, and that such supervision does not require the strengthening of the regular police by a body of men like the pharidars and naib pharidars. The Lieutenant-Governor agrees with the Inspector-General of Police that the appointment of men as pharidars and naib pharidars is not desirable. He is of opinion that there is at present a want of effective control over the village police, and that some improvement would be effected if the proceeds of the resumed lands were employed in maintaining police-officers, who would patrol villages and see that the chowkidars performed their duty. As a matter of fact, although the village police require constant inspection and supervision they get very little of either, and the Lieutenant-Governor thinks that much might be done to increase their efficiency by the appointment, as funds become available, of officers of the grade of head constable, each of whom should be put in charge of a circle of villages and be held responsible for seeing that all the chowkidars within his circle do their duty. Each officer should be stationed in the centre of a circle, and he should be relieved at least once a year. These officers should not be called pharidars, but head constables of the circle. I am accordingly to request that you will be good enough to take these suggestions into consideration, and, after communicating with the Inspector-General of Police, to report in what manner effect can best be given to some such scheme as that proposed.

APPENDIX N.

Dated Zillah Hooghly, the 14th February 1828.

From—D. C. Smyth, Esq., Magistrate of Hooghly,
To—R. Ralph, Esq., Second Judge of the Calcutta Court of Circuit, Hooghly.

I have the honour to bring to your notice certain circumstances connected with the establishment of village watchmen entertained in this district that appear to me to demand the serious attention of Government.

2. In the mohals formerly attached to zillah Burdwan, and generally throughout this district, there are in each village two to three police chokeedars, who have each an allowance of about 8 or 10 begahs of chakran land, and besides this establishment of paiks there are certain individuals, denominated phareedars, sewanadars, and digwars, to the former of whom in some cases a naib, and generally several chokeedars, are attached, in proportion to the extent of the phareedar's jurisdiction, and who are allowed from 50 to 200 begahs of land.

3. These phareedars are authorised to apprehend robbers and house-breakers, to report the occurrence of crimes to the police thanas, to patrol the villages attached to their pharees, to observe whether the chokeedars perform or neglect their duties, and generally to render every assistance to the police darogahs.

4. The total number of phareedars existing in this district amounted, from a very correct register that I had made up in the year 1825, to 175, together with 32 naibs and 808 paiks and piyadas, and the total quantity of chakran land attached to the phareeds amounted to 14,673 begahs. The total number of village chokeedars amounts to between 10 and 12,000 men, and the quantity of chakran land set apart for the maintenance of the whole body amounts to between 80 and 90,000 begahs of land.

5. The above arrangements have existed, I understand, from time immemorial in this district, as well as in Burdwan and Midnapore, and were finally adopted by Government about the year 1762 or 1763, when Mr. Johnston was Collector of Burdwan.

6. I regret, however, to state that these institutions have, more particularly since the introduction of the putnee system in this district, been suffered to fall very much to decay. The immediate influence and authority which these landholders possess of their own estates have enabled them for many years past gradually to resume on various pretences a portion of the chakran lands set apart for the maintenance of the phareedars and chokeedars, and to carry these abuses to a considerable extent notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Magistrate to prevent them.

7. In many cases the putneedars allow the chokeedars in possession of the lands a money subsistence in lieu of their chakran jaghyr, and thus prevent any immediate complaints; but on the death of the incumbent they refuse to continue the stipend to their successors, and the chakran land having been brought on the regular ryotty mohal is resumed altogether; and the chokeedars are then desired to bring a regular suit before the Adawlut to recover possession of their hereditary tenures.

8. In several cases the land formerly held by these officers has been changed for land of an inferior quality, and in other cases they have been dispossessed without any remuneration whatever; and unless some decisive measures are speedily adopted to put a stop to this system of alienation, and some regulation passed for the due preservation of the phareedars and other local police-officers of this district in the undisturbed possession of their chakran lands, I think there is every reason to believe that in the course of some few years more the chakran lands will be entirely frittered away, and that the village paiks and chokeedars, on whose fidelity, vigilance, and co-operation the efficiency of the present system of police so entirely depends, will no longer be found to exist.

9. As a proof of the necessity of some legislative interference on this subject, I beg leave to submit for your information a Persian statement containing the details of a few out of many cases in which complaints have been lodged before me by these officers for dispossession from their chakran lands. Considering it my duty to afford redress to these individuals against the oppression of zumeendars, and to preserve them in the undisturbed possession of their chakran lands, as well as to restore them to possession in all cases in which they have been illegally usurped or alienated, I invariably attended to their complaints, and after referring to the chakran papers in this office, which are of the most authentic and satisfactory description, and after making such further local enquiries as appeared to me to be equitable and just, I passed a summary judgment on the case.

10. You will observe from the statement above alluded to that my orders in these cases were in every instance reversed by the Calcutta Court of Circuit, not from any difference of opinion regarding the facts and merits of the cases, but solely because the Judges of that Court, in the conscientious discharge of their duty, did not conceive that I was authorised by the existing regulations to hold a summary investigation into these claims, and that I had, in fact, exercised an authority the law did not give me.

11. If this construction of the Regulation be correct, and I have no reason to doubt that it is not so, the constant complaints that I receive on this subject render it absolutely necessary that I should be invested with the power of affording redress to the complainants.

12. The peculiar nature of the tenure, which is one on condition, or "*quam dice se bene gesserit*," is such as to prevent any phareedar or chokeedar from instituting a regular suit for possession, for by the time the cause was come to a hearing he might probably be dismissed from his situation; the poverty, moreover, of the paiks and village watchmen, and the necessity of their constantly

attending to their respective duties, must ever render it morally impossible they should be able to prosecute the zumeendar through all the various delays and indispensable expenses attending a regular investigation in the Court of Dewanny-Adawlut.

13. Under these circumstances I have drafted a regulation which appears to me calculated to remedy the evils now complained of; for, viewing these village institutions as essential to the well-being of the police of this district, I think it a matter of primary importance that the chakran lands, which the phareedars and chokeedars are entitled to, should be not only preserved to them, but that in all cases in which they may have been unjustly and illegally deprived of their tenures no time should be lost in restoring them to their immediate possession.

14. The peculiar advantages that you must possess in coming to a due consideration of this subject, from your having been so long in charge of the district of Midnapore, in which a similar establishment of phareedars and paiks are entertained, has induced me to take the liberty of bringing this subject, so important to the police of this district, to your immediate notice, and I trust that, if deemed expedient, you will take the present opportunity of suggesting for the consideration of Government such measures as may appear to you most proper for restoring the chokeedars to their chakran lands, when the same have been alienated or usurped, and for maintaining them in the undisturbed possession of their tenures for the future.

Draft of a regulation for the prevention of the alienation of the chakran lands of the police establishments maintained in the districts of Burdwan, Hooghly, and Midnapore, and for the due restoration of these tenures in cases wherein they may have been illegally usurped or fraudulently resumed.

WHEREAS there appears just reason to believe that some of the zumeendars, talookdars, putneedars, and other proprietors of the land, in the districts of Burdwan, Hooghly, and Midnapore, have from time to time contrived, by forcible or frandulent practices, to dispossess several of the phareedars, sewandars, chokeedars, paik, digwars, and other hereditary village watchmen, in some cases from a portion and in others from the whole of their chakran lands; and whereas the individuals who have been thus wrongfully deprived of their lands are not able from their poverty, and not willing from the peculiar condition of their tenures, to involve themselves in a protracted litigation in the Adawlut for the purpose of recovering the possession of their chakran lands, and whereas it appears desirable, for the due restoration and maintenance of these individuals in the undisturbed possession of their chakran lands, and for the prevention of any future alienation of their tenures, that a summary investigation into these claims should be authorised in the Fouzdarry Court, leaving the parties dissatisfied with the award of the Magistrate to institute a regular suit in the Dewanny Adawlut for the final investigation of their rights: The following rules have been adopted, to be in force from the period of their promulgation in the districts of Burdwan, Hooghly, and Midnapore.

II. Whenever it shall appear to a Magistrate or Joint-Magistrate of the districts of Burdwan, Hooghly, or Midnapore, either from the complaint of any individual or from the report of any police-officer, or from the records of the chakran lands, that any phareedar, sewanadar, chokeedar, paik, digwar, or other individual of that denomination has been forcibly or fraudulently dispossessed from his chakran lands by zumeendar, talookdar, putneedar, or other proprietor of the lands, it shall be lawful for the Magistrate or Joint-Magistrate to address purwannahs to the parties requiring them to attend the Fouzdarry Court in person or by mooktar within the period of 20 days, and to produce all sunnuds, papers, or other documents relative to the lands in dispute. It shall be further lawful for the Magistrate or Joint-Magistrate to direct the proper officer of the Court to furnish extracts of such records as may be preserved in the office regarding the chakran lands under investigation, and after having examined any witnesses that may be adduced by either party to prove or disprove the alienation or usurpation of the chakran lands, and directing any local investigation that may appear necessary, the Magistrate or Joint-Magistrate shall proceed to pass summary judgment on the merits of the case, and the party n whose favor judgment may be passed shall be put in immediate possession

of the lands until the award may be altered or reversed on the institution and decision of a regular suit.

III. It shall be further competent to the Magistrate or Joint-Magistrate to award to any complainants under this Regulation such damages for any actual loss of crops or other injuries sustained for the dispossession of their chakran lands as may appear just and equitable, and to enforce the payment of the same as a regular decree of Court.

IV. Section 6, Regulation XV, 1824, shall be applicable to all cases investigated under this Regulation. *

(Sd.) D. C. SMYTH,
Magistrate.

APPENDIX O.

RATES OF RENT BETWEEN 1826 AND 1844.

Pergunnah Arshah.

NAME OF MOUZAH.	Name of zemindar.	Average rate per beegha.
		Rs. A. P.
Kuyjooree	Maharanee Comul Coomaree	2 0 0
Chunderpore	Ditto	2 7 0
Gopalpore	Ditto	1 15 0
Chandeepore	Ditto	1 15 0
Khaderan	Ditto	1 15 0
Tehpore	Ditto	1 15 0
Cunputpore	Maharajah Dheeraj Mahtab Chunder Bahadoor ..	1 8 0

Pergunnah Khalore.

		Rs. A. P.
Nunhason	Gocool Kisto Ghose	3 0 0
Manickpore	Ditto	2 4 0
Coolsauchee	Prawnkisto Roy	2 0 0
Khuassah	Shreenauth Mullick	2 4 0

Pergunnah Mundleghat.

		Rs. A. P.
Mudeehpore	Maharanee Indranee	2 6 0
Nawoopullah	Ditto	2 8 0
Bena Beria	Prawnauth Chowdry	2 8 0
Bagnan	Ditto	2 2 0
Buwonda...	Ditto	2 2 0
Goorgoor Bawonda	Ditto	1 6 0
Bacoordah	Ditto	2 2 0
Caula	Ditto	1 15 0
Cooka Bar	Ditto	3 1 6
Shuhapore	Maharanee Comul Coomaree	2 8 0
Chuck Comilla	Ditto Indrance	2 4 0
Nona Chuck	Ditto	2 4 0
Meite Kheera	Ditto	2 8 0
Pansu Silla	Ditto	3 5 0
Dewoltee	Ditto	2 15 0
Hautteepottah	Ditto	2 4 0
Parut	Ditto	1 9 0
Barro Parup	Ditto	1 9 0
Jospore	Ranee Hurro Soondree	2 4 0
Hauttee Pottah Khangee	Shreenauth Mullick	2 4 0
Epuiypore	Maharajah Dheeraj Mahtab Chunder Bahadoor and Prawnkisto Mittra	2 4 0
Apuria	Ditto	2 4 0
Mellow	Ditto	2 4 0
Diwaltee (35)	Ditto	2 4 0
Average rate of all the mouzahs in connection with the Ulabaria Road and Canal ...		2 3

* A somewhat similar executive procedure can now be followed by ejecting the encroacher summarily through the police if need be, and leaving him to bring a *regular* suit for possession. (See section 9 of the Specific Relief Act.)

APPENDIX P.

Translation of a Persian roobekaree of the Collector of Hooghly dated the 13th May 1828.

AGREEABLY to the instructions of the Board dated the 12th February last, all the documents and papers connected with this case have been inspected, and the Collector proceeded in person to the tomb of Said Chand. The sunnud bearing the seal of Yarbeg Khan, Foujdar in the time of Shah Allumjeer, presented by the petitioner states that the duty of Mouzzin to be performed at the mosque in the Fort of Hooghly, built by Mahomed Ahsun Oollah, Naib Fouzdar, was granted to Mahomed Taheer, for which he received two annas per diem from the contigencies of the Fouzdari funds. On an application of Moonshee Noor Khan an order was passed on the 8th Baisak 1188 B.S., bearing a seal and English signature declatory that, agreeably to the sherista of the cannungoe, Mahomed Ameer would receive an allowance for attendance at the said mosque, which allowance was divided between Mahomed Ameer and one Hubeeb Rahman. From the papers of Luckhon Bose, Mohurir, it appears 3-10 is placed to the name of Mahomed Ameer, and 5-7-10 for the duties of the mosque. Mahomed Muneer states to this office that Mahomed Ameer and Mahomed Taheer, his father and grandfather, were succeeded by him in the duties at the mosque, but that the allowance, two annas a day, had not been received since the 1st January 1819 to the end of June 1827, on which account he petitioned the Collector of Burdwan for the balance of Rs. 382-8. From the condition of the mosque it appears that prayers continue to be performed there. Mr. Oakely, late Judge of this district, in his roobekaree of the 1st January 1822, shows that Mahomed Ameer was discharging these duties, nor has he been remiss notwithstanding his straitened circumstances. He would seem therefore to be entitled to this allowance of two annas a day, assigned as it was prior to the Dewany and continued subsequently at intervals by the British Government; and by payment of the arrears, the mosque may be put into efficient repair. The shrine of Shah Chand is the mosque surrounded by a wall. Hubeeb Rohman and his son, Khairul Rohman, used to be in attendance there to perform the ceremonies. And on the 19th August 1811 Hyder Ali, son of Khairul Rohman, petitioned the Collector of Burdwan to be continued in the same duty. Sufder Ali presented a sunnud, dated 22nd Rubeejuhizza 1174 Hijra, announcing that 5 annas were assigned him from the kharij jamma of pergunnah Mahomed Ameenpore, also an authenticated copy of an English letter of the Board, dated 10th August 1797, authorising a monthly disbursement of 9-1-6, and from Mr. J. Armstrong's roobekari, date 18th March 1826, it appears he received 9-1 from the treasury of the Burdwan Collectorship down to 1st January 1819. By the Board's orders, 7th July 1825, half of this sum, 4-8-3, was directed to be paid to Sufdar Ali. Mahomed Ameer states that after the death of Hubeeb Rohman, Khairul Rohman performed the duties at the mosque for some time. Nawab Khanzankhan, a leading Mussulman, appointed him the Mahomed Muneer these 25 years since to observe these ceremonies, and this is further proved from the Judge's proceedings dated 29th July 1822, and Mr. Udny, Acting Collector's roobekaree, date 12th September 1825, and from the deposition of Sufdar Ali. Under all these circumstances it would seem conformable to the provisions of Regulation 19 of 1810 if Government continued this allowance of 2 annas daily to Mahomed Muneer, and would grant him the arrears which have accumulated. It is presumable from the questions put to Sufdar Ali and his replies that some small lands may have been attached for the due maintenance of the mosque. There is not, however, at present any good clue to this discovery, and it is not advisable to postpone any longer making a report on the foregoing particulars to the Board.

APPENDIX Q.

Medical Mesmerism.

The following account of the mesmeric experiments performed by Dr. J. Esdaile in Hooghly and in Calcutta was given me by Baboo Badan Chunder Chaudhari.

Mesmerism as a means for relieving human suffering in operative surgery, and for curing a vast number of diseases of the nervous system, was first introduced into the Hooghly Imambara Hospital by Dr. Esdaile in 1845.

On the 4th April of the same year a convict named Madhan Kawra, having a double hydrocele, was brought from the Jail to the Imambara Hospital for the operation of tapping. The man, after the usual injection, showed physical signs of severe pain: he lay groaning with his head over the back of the chair. This painful sight moved the doctor's heart. He thought of relieving his sufferings by bringing him under mesmeric influence. He now commenced to mesmerise him, making passes with both his hands, breathing at the same time from the back of his head and then from over his face, at the distance of an inch, down to the pit of his stomach, which he pressed. This he continued doing for an hour and a half, testing him at intervals of half an hour. The man then was found in a deep sleep. Many attempts were made in the presence of Mr. Russel, the Judge, and Mr. Money, the Collector, who came in at the request of Dr. Esdaile. These gentlemen, in order to rouse the man, pricked and pinched him; fumes of liquor ammonia were inhaled by him, and live coals were put on different parts of his body, but he remained fixed and quite insensible, not shrinking in the least, and lying as dead. Now to awake him from the mesmeric trance, the doctor began to demesmerise him by making transverse passes and throwing cold water over his face. When he awoke several questions were put to him; he said he was in deep sleep and remembered nothing of what had happened after the operation. The man afterwards became very susceptible to mesmeric influence, and on several occasions, whenever he wished, showed various symptoms of somnambulism and clairvoyance. Encouraged by the success thus obtained, we began to perform all sorts of surgical operations under mesmeric coma, and in almost all instances succeeded in our efforts.

List of the number of painless surgical operations performed at Hooghly Imambara Hospital since the introduction of mesmerism up to January 1846.

Arm amputated	1
Breast ditto	1
Tumor extracted from the upper jaw	1
Scirrhus testium extirpated	2
Colis amputated	2
Contracted knees straightened	3
Ditto arms ditto	3
Operations for cataract	3
Large tumor cut off	1
Operations for hydrocele	7
Ditto dropsy	2
Actual cautery applied to a sore	1
Muriatic acid ditto	2
Unhealthy sores pared down	7
Abscesses opened	5
Sinus, 6 inches long, laid open	1
Heel flayed	1
End of thumb cut off	1
Teeth extracted	3
Gum cut away	1
Præputium cut off	3
Piles ditto	1
Great toe nails cut out by the roots	5
Seton introduced from ankle to knee	1
Large tumor on leg removed	1
Scrotal tumors, weighing from 8 to 80 lbs., removed without pain	14
Total ...	73

Return of medical cases cured by mesmerism.

Nervous headache	3, cured by one trance.
Tic doloureux	1, ditto.
Nervousness and lameness from rheumatism of two and a half years' standing	1, by chronic treatment.
Spasmodic colic	1, by one trance.
Acute inflammation of the eye ...	1, by repeated trances in 24 hours.
Chronic ditto	1, by chronic treatment.
Acute inflamation of testes ...	1, by repeated trances in 36 hours.
Convulsions	1, by one trance.
Lameness from rheumatism ...	1, by chronic treatment.
Lumbago	1, by general and local mesmerising for a week.
Sciatica	1, ditto.
Pain in crural nerve	1, ditto.
Palsy of one arm	1, ditto for a month.
Do. of half the body	1, ditto for six weeks.
Feeling of insects crawling over the body	1, by one trance.
	17

The benefit derived from mesmerism being reported by Dr. Esdaile, Government ordered an experiment. A room was allowed in the Calcutta Native Hospital, where at first 10 patients were selected for mesmeric trial, of whom 7, after various intervals, were thrown into mesmeric coma and operated upon without feeling any pain. The other three not coming under its influence were dismissed.

A list of patients experimented upon in the Calcutta Native Hospital is given below:—

Patient.	Disease.	Operations.
Nilmony ...	Tumor	Apparently painless.
Ditto ...	Dressing changed	Ditto.
Domun	Tumor	Doubtful.
Jahiruddin ...	Excision of thickened prepuce ...	Ditto.
Ram Chund ...	Tumor	Ditto.
Hyder Khan ...	Amputation of thigh ...	Apparently painless.
Murali Doss ...	Tumor	Ditto.
Hurronundo Laha* ...	Tumor, weight 112 lbs. ...	Painless.

The committee† appointed by Government making a favourable report, an experimental mesmeric hospital was, in November 1846, opened in the Presidency at Mott's Lane for a year, where all sorts of cases were admitted and operated upon under mesmeric influence.

At the completion of this period the hospital was abolished, on the 8th January 1848.

* Operated upon just after the committee was dissolved.

† The members were—
J. Atkinson, Esq., Inspector-General of Hospitals, Chairman of the Committee.
E. M. Gordon, Esq.,
J. Jackson, Esq., Surgeon, Native Hospital.
D. Stewart, Esq., M.D., Presidency Surgeon.
W. B. O'shaughnessy, Esq., M.D., Secretary of the Committee.
James Hume, Esq.
A. Rogers, Esq.

The native gentlemen of Calcutta, who appreciated the value of mesmerism applied to Government for the retention of the hospital, but they were informed that if they liked the hospital might be reopened and supported by public subscriptions. Accordingly, on the 1st September 1848, it was revived under the superintendence of Dr. Esdaile, but it lasted only for a year. On the 10th April 1850, for the further encouragement of mesmerism, Dr. Esdaile was appointed as Superintendent of the Sookea's Lane Dispensary, where mesmerism continued to, be practised till he retired from the service in 1851. After the departure of Dr. Esdaile to England mesmerism received no encouragement owing to a majority of medical men giving preference to chloroform in operative surgery.

(Sd.) BADAN CHUNDER CHAUDHARI.

W. H. D'C.—Reg. No. 8114J 500 24-11-48.